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# The Cambridge Historical Society

## PUBLICATIONS

X



## PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 26, 1915—OCTOBER 26, 1915





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SMITHSONIAN DEPOSIT





Henry Capell.

engraved for the Cambridge Historical Society  
from an original portrait in the possession of  
Michael Henry Lane

# The Cambridge Historical Society

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## PUBLICATIONS X

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JANUARY 26, 1915—OCTOBER 26, 1915



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE THIRTY-THIRD MEETING

THE THIRTY-THIRD MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on the 26th day of January, 1915, at 7.45 o'clock in the evening, at Craigie House, the residence of Miss Longfellow.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Portraits of Henry Vassall and Penelope Royal Vassall, recently acquired by the President, were exhibited.

SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER read an account of the originals of these portraits.

COL. HENRY VASSALL

THE Cambridge Loyalists or "Tories" have suffered a somewhat undeserved neglect at the hands of our historians. Numerous, opulent, cultivated, picturesque, and exceedingly interesting in themselves, they also form the outstanding figures in the village annals during the middle of the eighteenth century—annals which otherwise would be colorless to the vanishing-point. Economically they contributed vastly to the reputation and resources of the town, whole sections of which were opened up and brought to a high state of development by their wealth, intelligence, and taste. Politically they were the conscientious upholders of that

realm of law and order against which their fellow countrymen saw fit to revolt, with results that long hung in the balance and that — had it not been for the unexpected folly of their leaders and the equally unexpected rise of a first-order genius among the revolutionists — might well have vindicated their position completely. Meantime they operated as the flywheel on the overheated engine of partisan passion, delaying and steadyng its wilder impulses and preventing the ungoverned excesses into which it might otherwise have run. Socially and intellectually they brought to a primitive community, which had scarcely advanced beyond the Elizabethan era when it was founded, the amenities, comforts, and ideals of the highest civilization of the day, and thus paved the way for that cultured elegance which was to distinguish the neighborhood for many years to come.<sup>1</sup> In the thin and vitiated mental atmosphere that had felt no more stimulating influences than the meagre precepts of Harvard College (which itself was experiencing a time of weakness and change) they gave the first inspirations of a fuller and richer life. They were, in brief, the advance guard of those forces that have transformed the isolated, bucolic hamlet<sup>2</sup> into a complex modern city, at once eagerly progressive and curiously conservative.

At the same time the scanty attention that has been paid to the Tories is not unnatural. Out of sight, out of mind; and the less said about those into whose inheritance we have so coolly entered, the better. The adherents of a lost cause are soon forgotten amongst a democracy where success is the test and the justification of all things. Even the genealogist, struggling to ascend the local family-trees, passes by those temporary stocks that have left no scions among us to-day. Mostly exotic, they grafted them-

<sup>1</sup> By an attraction that deserves a better name than coincidence, both of the most famous men of letters that Cambridge has ever claimed fixed their abodes, it will be recalled, in mansions built by the Loyalists.

<sup>2</sup> The sympathetic student of pre-revolutionary Cambridge must bear constantly in mind the extreme diminutiveness of his field. The settled part of town was practically confined to the vicinity of Harvard College, and in 1765 contained a white population with the easily remembered total of 1492. Thus, instead of standing as now fourth or fifth in order of size, Cambridge was then about fortieth on the Massachusetts list, overwhelmingly and apparently hopelessly outranked by such important centres as Sutton, Scituate, Ipswich, and Rehoboth. The largest town after Boston was Marblehead. Cf. Benton, *Early Census Making in Mass.*

selves, as it were, upon the growing community, throve, multiplied, and then, before the chilling breath of discord and revolution, suddenly withered away and vanished, leaving no roots, no fruits, and only here and there an empty husk. The dead leaves of their records have been suffered to whirl off into limbo. Their fibres never sank deeper than the superficial soil of New England life. The native population, differing from them in religion, in occupations, in habits, in philosophy, and in politics, at first tolerated them, then distrusted them, and at last feared and assailed them; and when they were extirpated spent nearly a century in obliterating their vestiges.

Of all that ghostly company no members are more difficult to trace, considering their numbers<sup>1</sup> and wealth, than the great family of the Vassalls. Like strange old-world galleons, they moored for a time in the pleasant summer waters of New England, enjoying and enriching themselves among the codfish; but with the first autumnal northeaster they dragged their anchors and drifted helplessly away before the blast, the angry waves closing over their wake, marked only by an occasional bit of wreckage or a fragment of flotsam jettisoned to lighten a sinking ship. Many of their friends among the Massachusetts Loyalists played memorable and manly parts in the troubrous sixties and seventies of the revolutionary century — some are still notorious for a precisely opposite course. Not a few of their native-born neighbors, humble and uncouth as they may have seemed in the eyes of those fine gentry, are to-day vivid national figures and familiar household words. But the name of Vassall in New England is almost as if it had never been. A few stately country-seats, some musty court and registry entries, an obscure lane in Cambridge, a township in the Maine forests, some scattered stones in long-closed churchyards, and a monument in King's Chapel to a London ancestor are all that now preserve it from utter forgetfulness. For anything beyond these mechanical and artificial memorials, for any vital impression on the history of the time, for any tablet in the hall of fame (even in the Cambridge corner thereof), for any human interest, in legend, song, or story, we look in vain.

<sup>1</sup> Harris, the authority on the subject, enumerates no less than sixty-eight who bore the name in New England.

The very personalities of the heads of the house have perished, or become dim and uncertain. Their letters and diaries are lost. Scarcely a scrap of manuscript survives to show us their characteristics and activities, intimacies and antipathies, hopes and fears. Up to the present time we have not even known how they looked. For though prominent members of the class that most liberally patronized the praiseworthy efforts of the Colonial portrait painters, their likenesses, numerous as they must have been, were either carried away in their hegira, or have suffered a variety of ignominious fates, scorned as "nothing but pictures of those miserable old Tories." The portraits of Henry Vassall and his wife Penelope Royall, auspiciously recovered within the past twelvemonth from a descendant distant in more senses than one, have therefore a value even more unique than that always attaching to the work of the master hand that painted them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exhibition of these portraits before the Society was the occasion for the preparation of this paper. Their history after leaving Cambridge appears to be as follows:

From Henry Vassall's daughter Elizabeth, who married Dr. Charles Russell, they passed to her child Rebecca, who married in 1793 David Pearce of Boston, and thence to his son Charles Russell Pearce. While in the custody of the last named, they were taken to Baltimore, about 1825. Through his daughter Elizabeth Vassall Pearce, who married Mr. Prentiss, they were transmitted to his granddaughter Elizabeth Vassall Prentiss, who married Oliver H. McCowen. In 1914 Mrs. McCowen, being about to remove from Baltimore to Burmah, offered them to the Cambridge Historical Society, and they were purchased by the president, Richard H. Dana, 3d. They are now hung in the Treasure Room of the Harvard Library.

The canvases of Henry Vassall and Penelope Royall are 25 by 30 and 15 by 17½ inches respectively. When received they proved to be in excellent condition, needing only varnishing and a little retouching of the backgrounds. That of Colonel Vassall represents a man in the prime of life, half-length, full face, slightly smiling, chin dimpled. He wears a powdered wig, ruffled lace neck-cloth, brown embroidered satin coat. The coloring is brilliant and the face full of character. The bust portrait of his wife is that of a young, sweet, refined woman, face oval, eyes large, features regular, brown hair dressed high with a rose on the left side. Her citron-colored dress is low cut. Neither in size, coloring, nor expression is this picture as striking as the other, and one cannot but feel that the subject did not appeal to the painter as strongly.

Family tradition assigns both portraits to the brush of Copley. Mr. Frank W. Bayley, the leading authority on the subject, announces after careful inspection that tradition is here undoubtedly correct, and proposes to include both pictures in his catalogue of the works of that master. The style and handling are precisely those of Copley at the period when these canvases must have been executed; there is, moreover, documentary

## I

The biographer of these Vassalls seeks in vain to vivify his sketch with the warm coloring and well-placed details so happily employed by their limner. With the present materials he can but trace some faint outlines on a misty background. Certain names and dates stand out clearly enough.<sup>1</sup> Henry Vassall's position among the far-flung branches of his family tree may be seen from the diagram appended. Born on Christmas Day, 1721, the fourteenth of eighteen children, of a fine old English stock long resident in the West Indies, he too seems to have lived, until nearly twenty years of age, on the great family estates in Jamaica. By that time his father, Leonard, and his older brothers, Lewis, John, and William, had already been for several years in Boston, doubtless attracted thither not only by its great commercial prosperity, but also by its superior social and educational opportunities. Of these the boys had taken full advantage. John graduated from Harvard in 1732 and two years later married Elizabeth Phips, daughter of the lieutenant governor. In 1736, to be near his father-in-law's delightful family circle in Cambridge,<sup>2</sup> he bought there, from the widow of John

evidence that he painted several others of the Royall family and their connections. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. 71, page 284.

Both the frames are old—possibly the originals (many of Copley's frames were made by Paul Revere)—and have merely been regilded. Copies of both portraits were made some years ago for Mr. James Russell Soley of New York City. An indifferent painting of Miss Elizabeth, aged about sixteen, is now in possession of Mrs. H. L. Threader of Richmond, Virginia. Portraits of other members of the Vassall family by Hoppner and Reynolds are in Holland House, London.

(Information chiefly supplied by Mrs. S. M. de Gozzaldi and Mr. R. H. Dana, 3d. See also notes, pages 13, 15.)

<sup>1</sup> For the authoritative data on the family history see the exhaustive researches of Edward Doubleday Harris, *The Vassalls of New England*—the basis of this sketch—reprinted from *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, xvii, 56, 113.

<sup>2</sup> The Phips family were the pioneers of the Loyalist migration to Cambridge that reached its height about the middle of the century. Spence Phips, adopted son of the fabulously wealthy Sir William Phips, bought a "farm" in 1706 that embraced all of East Cambridge and part of Cambridgeport, and soon afterward the estate on Arrow Street that became the homestead. His lavish hospitality, together with the distinguished alliances made by many of his children, who set up splendid establishments near

Frizzell, the old mansion (now 94 Brattle Street), with about seven acres surrounding it, which thereupon became permanently associated with his patronymic. In 1741, shortly after the death of his father, he sold it to his brother Henry, then a lad just coming of age, who in this connection makes his first appearance on the local records, as "now residing at Boston, late of the Island of Jamaiea, Planter." With the domicile went the "barn and outhouses," most of the furniture, a chariot, a chaise, and four horses. Included in the same deed were thirty acres of "mowing and pasture land" across the Charles, in the westerly angle between the river and "the King's Road from Cambridge to Boston."<sup>1</sup>

The house, we may note, was already of very respectable antiquity. From the infancy of the town, indeed, a dwelling seems to have occupied the site. It was a delightful location, pleasantly near the river, and just "without the walls" of the original *pallysadoe* that surrounded the first settlement, and that here followed the line of the present Ash Street. It thus formed an early example of a model suburban estate, combining easy access to the centre of society, business, and education at "the village," with a rural peace to which that centre must have seemed in comparison a bustling metropolis. Both mansion and grounds, as Henry Vassall found them, had been enlarged and beautified by successive owners.<sup>2</sup> He continued the process, rounding out the estate by further purchases<sup>3</sup> and building, him, proved a magnet that drew to Cambridge a large portion of its richest and most fashionable ante-revolutionary elements. Upon his death in 1757 the family traditions were well continued by his son David.

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 43/271. About on the site of the present University Boat House.

<sup>2</sup> For exhaustive (and occasionally confusing) details of the numerous changes in boundaries, construction, and ownership for over two hundred and fifty years see the articles by three generations of the Batchelder family, the proprietors since 1841, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xlvi, 191; *The Cambridge of 1776*, 93; *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 94. From them the following reconstruction is chiefly extracted. The grounds are now cut up by modern streets, dating from about 1870, and are crowded with heterogeneous dwellings. The mansion itself has served for years as a "select boarding house."

<sup>3</sup> In 1746 he bought from his brother John somewhat more than an acre on the westerly side, extending from the Watertown road to "Amos Marratt's marsh," and the next year the half acre on the corner of the Watertown road and the "highway to the brick wharf," as Ash Street was

among other items, the east wing, with its elaborate interior finish, and along the street fronts the low brick garden-wall, portions of which still remain.

The place, as he left it, differed so materially from its present shrunken and mutilated condition that some effort of the imagination is needed to picture it in its palmy days. Let us approach in our mind's eye, that most accommodating of conveyances. The grounds extend along the road to Watertown (Brattle Street) from Windmill Lane<sup>1</sup> (Ash Street) on the east<sup>2</sup> to John Vassall's pasture (Longfellow Park) on the west. Tall hedges of flowering hawthorns mark the lateral boundaries. On the north front, just inside the wall, towers a magnificent row of five-score acacia trees. The house stands farther back from the road than to-day, for a ten-foot strip was clipped from the front yard when Brattle Street was widened in 1870.<sup>3</sup> From the rear of the dwelling southward nearly to the ebb and flow of the river in its salt marshes<sup>4</sup> extend the famous gardens. We may saunter along their white-pebbled walks, edged with neat box rows, and admire

also described. (Middlesex Deeds, 47/350.) By these purchases the eastern and western boundaries were completed as they have existed until recent times. Both transactions were doubtless connected with the Jamaica "deal" mentioned on page 36 herein.

<sup>1</sup> Although frequently described as a highway, the present Ash Street was for generations practically a private way, separating the properties of Vassall and Brattle, and leading to land owned by the Marretts on the river bank. In 1750, William Brattle, Henry Vassall, and Edward Marrett Jr. obtained favorable action by the "Sessions" (then fulfilling the functions of County Commissioners) on their petition "Shewing that there hath between the Land of the said William & Henry been a Gate or pair of Barrs time out of Mind in the Lane leading to the Brick Wharffe in Cambridge, that there is a Gate now hanging in Said Place, they pray leave to continue the Same in the Same Place 'till the further Order of this Court." Page 100, volume "1748-1761," Clerk's Office, East Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> More nearly southeast, as north should be northeast, etc., but for the sake of simplicity the cardinal bearings of the old deeds have been followed in the text throughout.

<sup>3</sup> On this "improving" occasion the acacias were sacrificed, and the brick wall was perforate taken down. The part opposite the lawn was rebuilt on the new line, but this time capped by a granite coping instead of the two planks set in an "A" shape that formerly topped it. Opposite the house it was replaced by a high rampart of imitation stone, with entrance gate-posts, etc., in the fashionable taste of that day.

<sup>4</sup> Mount Auburn Street of course had not then invaded "the marsh." The estate, however, seems never to have gone beyond the upland.

their choice shrubs, vines, and fruit trees, many, even to the great purple mulberry, imported from Europe. Under the willows at the foot of the grounds we may pause to drink from a fine spring.

Along the western wing of the house a cobbled courtyard (now the beginning of Hawthorn Street) opens from the road. At the head of it, just clear of the end of the wing, stands the great stable, whence we hear the stamp and champ of a long row of horses.<sup>1</sup> On the right of the court is the coach-house, sheltering "the coach, the charriott, the chaise, the currule, the old currule,"<sup>2</sup> and other vehicular precursors of the limousine and the motorcycle. Here also we may curiously inspect the owner's private fire-engine, the first machine of the kind in Cambridge annals, and a striking illustration of the complete and costly style in which the family establishment was maintained.<sup>3</sup>

This western wing is the most ancient portion of the fabric, as we may infer from its huge chimney-stack laid in clay instead of mortar, and its low rooms finished with plaster made of calcined oyster shells,—carrying us back to the days of makeshifts for proper lime. Its southward extension is continued by a long ell<sup>4</sup> (now much shortened), containing kitchen, "well room," garden shed, and other "offices," some floored with mother earth, some with hexagonal sections of tree trunks—an early example of wood-block paving. Although we evidently have here the strictly domestic side of the building, the whole house, elabor-

<sup>1</sup> A memorandum in the little account book later described gives the heights of ten horses by name—"Ruggles," "Lechmere," "Boy," etc. Two of them were ponies. In 1758 Henry Vassall had so many horses that he could not accommodate them all, and had to pay Gershom Flagg "on acct. of rent for Stable £45."

<sup>2</sup> Inventory of 1769. See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> It was so much admired that there was some talk of its being "improved for the town's use;" but the proposition was finally negatived by the March meeting of 1755, the conservative majority plainly preferring to put their trust in the good old bucket-line rather than in any new-fangled notions. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 134.

The Colonel's elaborate forehandedness was later imitated by his brother-in-law, young Isaae Royall. The latter's inventory of 1778 gives "Fire Engine £250," with sundry entries for "time spent about ye Engine to get it mended and cleaned." Middlesex Probate, No. 19546, Old Series.

<sup>4</sup> A sketch plan of about 1875 gives the total length of the west side as ninety-one feet, of the north front sixty-three feet.

rate and extensive as it is, bears the character of the true home-  
stead.<sup>1</sup> It sets low on the ground. Its main roofs, crowned by  
a small cupola in the middle, are of the good old gambrel type.  
Its outer walls are mostly covered with "rough cast" or stucco,  
a logical finish for their interior construction of oak beams filled  
in with brick. Even some of the partitions, on account of the  
successive enlargements of the edifice, are of solid masonry.

On entering we find that these enlargements have produced  
a rambling arrangement of rooms very different from the four-  
square primness of the typical "Colonial mansion" to which  
we are accustomed. The ground plan is like a broad, squat letter  
**U**, opening to the south. Parallel eastern and western wings  
of different periods enclose between them the great dining room,  
which occupies the entire middle section, and thus abruptly bisects  
the usual "long entry" from the eastern to the western door.  
The chambers of the second floor follow the same curious arrange-  
ment. To reach them there are three separate staireases. That  
of the eastern wing is still one of the handsomest examples of  
Colonial woodwork to be seen in Cambridge. The apartments  
are known, according to their rich and diversified finish, as "the  
blue room," "the best room," "the marble chamber," "the green  
chamber," "the cedar chamber," etc. The rooms are filled with  
pictures; even the walls of the entries and staireases are covered  
with them.<sup>2</sup>

In the library is a large collection of standard and current  
books. There is fine old mahogany furniture a-plenty, blue-and-

<sup>1</sup> From the date of buying the house Henry Vassall apparently never had any other domicile. Many of the Cambridge Tories regarded the village as a summer resort only, and retired in winter to their fine Boston dwellings. The Colonel's brother William had an especially magnificent estate in the metropolis, and his nephew John was constantly buying new property there. But he himself, either from choice or necessity, made no further purchases, and settled down for life on his compact and handsome possessions in the university town.

<sup>2</sup> The inventory of 1769 gives a hundred and fifty. "In the best room" were "three family pictures." Two were doubtless those of the Colonel and his wife, already mentioned, and the third that of their daughter Elizabeth. This inventory, it must be remembered, was that of a deceased bankrupt who had run through most of his property, and hence represents only a remnant of the full personal estate. It gives, for instance, only "2 horses, old," where a dozen years before there were ten. See Appendix A. Ninety-one pictures were left in 1778. (Appendix B.)

white china, and an imposing array of plate — over six hundred ounces. There is fine old joinery too, balusters, panels, wainscot, carving. But such evidences of wealth and taste, common to all the more luxurious dwellings of the time, are not particularly characteristic of the place. What most strikes the observer even to-day is its flavor of the native soil — its true "Old Cambridge" air — that so contrasts it with its loftier, newer, more sumptuous and formal neighbor across the road. The latter was built "all of a piece" in 1759 by young John Vassall, son of our Henry's brother John already mentioned. A tradition of delicious mystery connects the two houses by a secret underground passage. A bricked-up arch in Colonel Henry's cellar wall appears to be the foundation of both the tradition and that part of the building. We may assume, from what we know of the owner, that the feature was much more probably the entrance to a wine vault. Although this primitive "subway" has caved in under the prodding of modern investigation, the touch of romance indispensable for a historic mansion was supplied, up to living memory, by an absolutely authentic secret recess closed by a sliding panel. Since the "secret" of its location — by the fireplace in one of the oldest rooms — was as usual public property, there was, naturally, nothing in it. Even the appropriate legend which by all the unities should have lingered there has long since slipped away to join the majority of the family traditions in oblivion.

## II

Such was the home to which young Harry Vassall brought his bride. For as soon as the place was ready he married, January 28, 1742, Penelope, daughter of the immensely wealthy old Isaac Royall.<sup>1</sup> That magnate, like his wife (Elizabeth Eliot<sup>2</sup>), was

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this family see Harris, "The New England Royalls," *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxxix, 348.

<sup>2</sup> She was a daughter of Asaph Eliot of Boston. By a previous marriage with John Brown of Antigua she had had a daughter Ann, who married Robert Oliver of the same island, and became the mother of Thomas and Elizabeth Oliver. The last two married respectively Elizabeth and John Jr., children of John Vassall Sen., brother of Henry Vassall, who married Penelope, daughter of Mrs. Royall by her second husband. The relationships thus established between Royalls, Olivers, and Vassalls, enough to dizzy the most indurated gene-

of good Massachusetts stock, but had spent most of his life on a rich sugar plantation which he had early purchased in Antigua, "in the Popeshead Division,"<sup>1</sup> and from which he derived a princely income. There Penelope was born, September, 1724. Amid the enervating influences of the social life on that little island (just the size of Martha's Vineyard), where rum was cheaper than water,<sup>2</sup> where sybaritic luxury rubbed elbows with demoralizing primitiveness,<sup>3</sup> where the blacks outnumbered their masters almost ten to one, she passed her childhood — much, we may imagine, as her husband had passed his. In 1737 the family returned to Boston (though her brother, young Isaac, had been sent back several years earlier for his schooling),<sup>4</sup> and she found herself in a very different environment. From that date we have occasional references<sup>5</sup> to her of a pleasant, homely kind:

alogist, are only typical of those which interwove the whole group of Cambridge Tories into an indistinguishable mass of cousins and "in-laws."

<sup>1</sup> See early maps in Oliver, *History of Antigua*. The location was on the northern shore of the island, near "Royall's Bay."

<sup>2</sup> "This island is almost destitute of fresh springs . . . only two worthy of notice, therefore the water principally used is rain. . . . In dry seasons, an article of such vast consumption must necessarily be scarce and dear; I have been informed that rum and wine have been given in exchange for it." Luffman, *Brief Account of Antigua*, 61.

<sup>3</sup> "The tables of the opulent, and also of many who can very ill afford it, are covered with a profusion known only in this part of the world; their attendants numerous, but it is not uncommon to see them waiting almost destitute of clothing, and the little they have mere rags. . . . A few days since, being invited to a tea-drinking party, where was collected from ten to a dozen ladies and gentlemen, a stout negroe fellow waited, who had no other covering than an old pair of trowsers. I believe I was the only person present who took the least notice of the indecency of such an appearance, and indeed it is my opinion, were the slaves to go quite naked, it would have no more effect on the feelings of the major part of the inhabitants of this country than what is produced by the sight of a dog or cat." Letter of March 10, 1787. *Idem*.

<sup>4</sup> Many references to him appear in the accounts of his father's agent in New England. (Middlesex Probate, 19545, O.S.) A particularly interesting item is: "1728 Aug. 31 To cash pd. Pelham for your son's picture £15," with a similar sum a little later. The boy was then scarcely ten years old. The Royalls evidently had a passion for family portraits. Numbers of them are disposed of in the will of young Isaac, and still others are catalogued in Bayley, *John Singleton Copley*. The inventory of 1778 mentions "A large picture of 2 Children, £6" still remaining in the Medford mansion. Cf. note, page 9.

<sup>5</sup> Middlesex Probate, 19545, Old Series, *supra*.

1738 June 23 Cash to Penelope	20/-
1740 March 4 Ring for Penelope	60/-
Jun 15 Deblois teaching Penelope <sup>1</sup>	£1
Aug. 9 Mr. Stevens Mak <sup>g</sup> Cloggs for Penelope	£5.13

When in 1739 her father died<sup>2</sup> she became by his will half owner with her brother of the Antigua plantation, and no small matrimonial prize.<sup>3</sup> Whether her wooing by the youthful Jamaica planter, when she was scarcely turned seventeen, was warned by some adumbration of this pleasing truth, we are left to conjecture. Was it a love match or a *mariage à la mode*?

One fact is indubitable. With the exception of a daughter who died in infancy, the only fruit of the union was Elizabeth, baptized in December of 1742. This solitary representative of the next generation was nurtured with every advantage that solicitude could devise and wealth procure. The scraps of family records give evidence, if evidence were needed, that from infancy she enjoyed the possessions of a princess — fine clothes, jewelry, fairy-books, special furniture, ponies; and when she outgrew the last, a horse was brought for her all the way from Philadelphia. Servitors hovered around her to anticipate her slightest want. Strange fruits and toys came to her from far-away tropical islands. She had the best schooling that the metropolis of New England could give her. Admiring relatives surrounded and petted her; distinguished visitors applauded and rewarded her little displays of cleverness. Her portrait was painted while still a child. Unless human nature has strangely altered of late, we may safely say that from her throne in the nursery she ruled the household.

Yet such a lonely nursery was against all family traditions. Boston and Cambridge, Milton and Braintree, were full of handsome and wealthy young Vassalls. The girls were marrying right

<sup>1</sup> Probably music lessons from Stephen De Blois, organist of King's Chapel.

<sup>2</sup> Buried by mistake on his estate in Medford, he was hastily dug up again and carted to his summer home at Dorchester, where his marble tomb, prepared almost ten years before, awaited its occupant — foresighted indeed during life, but somewhat unable to control his affairs post obit. Brooks, *History of Medford*, 151.

<sup>3</sup> By the will of her mother in 1747 she further became entitled to the income of over £2000 during coverture, and to the principal if she survived her husband. (Middlesex Probate, 19543, O.S., and cf. page 20.) It is to be feared that long before his death, however, he had managed to reach and squander all her property. See page 38 *et seq.*

and left into the first families of the "court circle." Six boys of the name were on the rolls of Harvard during the mid-century. Our Henry, it is true, did not enjoy the advantages of university training, possibly because he arrived here at about the age when boys then were graduated. Apparently in consequence of that lack, he has been carelessly spoken of as uneducated; though the partial list, still preserved,<sup>1</sup> of his handsome library belies the slur.

But the want of a college education was not by any means all that differentiated the subject of the present sketch from the other somewhat conventional members of his generation, or the only reason why, so far as we can now estimate, he stands out from among them a more picturesque and compelling personality. For he possessed qualities not always guaranteed by a college degree. He was eminently a man of affairs, a good organizer, an acute business manager, a leader acknowledged and esteemed both among his own exclusive clique and among the hard-headed, hard-fisted rank and file of his townsmen. Twice did the latter, by electing him their representative in the General Court, evince their appreciation of his political sagacity.<sup>2</sup> His abilities as a presiding officer made him in considerable demand for "moderator" at town meetings.<sup>3</sup> In church affairs he was, as we shall see, the local Episcopalians' spokesman and mainstay.<sup>4</sup> The trust and confidence reposed in him by his own relatives is shown in his appointment as guardian of the children of his deceased brother Lewis of Braintree.<sup>5</sup> His military proficiency was notable enough to bring him in 1763 the not unimportant commission of lieutenant colonel in the First Regiment of Middlesex Militia, commanded by his still more versatile neighbor,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> 1752 and 1756. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 461. This was during a brief period in which the town tried the experiment of paying no salaries to its representatives, so that a man of wealth and leisure was almost a necessity for the position. (*Idem*, 133.) It must be admitted that a perusal of the House journals for these years does not reveal any startling official activities of the Hon. H. Vassall. Memberships on ornamental committees and similar complimentary appointments are most commonly associated with his name.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge Town Records, MSS., *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See page 43.

<sup>5</sup> See page 25.

William Brattle.<sup>1</sup> If the citizen soldiers of his day were anything like those of the present, his appointment implies no small degree of popularity, adaptability, and skill in handling men. Though at that date there was no chance for active service, we can easily picture the dashing figure he must have made at the annual Cambridge "trainings."<sup>2</sup>

Socially, above all, his family connections, lavish expenditures, and ample hospitality gave him especial prominence. He was long looked-to to do the honors of the town on any notable occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 407. He is thus remembered as Colonel Henry, to distinguish him from the other Henry, the son of his brother William. His successor in the command was his popular friend, Thomas Oliver.

<sup>2</sup> An almost photographic account of one of these inspiring occasions has been left by the Rev. Winwood Serjeant, the Colonel's (second) rector at Christ Church, whose house adjoined the common. Supplying the context on one margin, which has been torn off, it is as follows:

"Yesterday the Honble Brigadier Genl made an elegant Entertainment for the Governor, Council, & a number of other Gentmen: After [dinner]; being the grand muster Day for training, the several com[panies] of militia were ordered to attend: & a sham fight exhibited [between] the English & French: The English marching through Cambridge [w]ere smartly attacked by an ambuscade of the French who were [posted] behind Roe's, the Blacksmith's shop, near Col. Vafsal. The noble [Brigadier] vigorously repulsed the Enemy, forced his paisage thro' the street, sword [in hand] & obliged the French Army to retreat to a strong Fort deeply intrenched [at the corner] of the Common to the nor'ward of our house: After the Genl [had collected] his forces together upon the Common, he called a Council of [war & it] was soon determined to attack the Fort as his men were in [high spirits] after the late advantage: they advanced with great resolution: Victory was for some time dubious: but by the assistance of [a brisk fire] from the artillery advantageously posted on the right wing, [the eloquence of the Officers, & the never failing courage of English [troops t]hey at last forced the Intrenchments, & obliged the Enemy to capitulate: they quitted the fort to the English, & marched thro the Army with colours flying & Drums beating: the English then entered, demolished the outworks & set fire to the fort, a parcel of shavings laid there for that purpose: Thus ended the famous Battle of Cambridge to the great honour of Genl Brattle, his officers & men: & to the admiration of a large concourse of people: My House as full of Ladies as it could hold: Cost me a great deal of Tea, bread & butter & wine. I make no doubt you will have a pompous account of this Battle in the publick papers. What will make it more remarkable in future History is that no body was killed or wounded excepting one private man belonging to the Artillery who had a pretty large cartrage of powder for the Cannon in his pocket which accidentally took fire, & burnt his cloths a good deal, but was much more frightened than hurt." Serjeant to Mrs. Browne, Cambridge, October 7, 1772. MSS. in possession of the Rev. Arthur Browne Livermore.

When, for example, the Hon. William Shirley passed through Cambridge on his way to assume the reins of his Majesty's government at Boston, he broke the last stage of his journey "at the seat of Col. Vassal, at Cambridge, where he lodg'd that Night" and "was waited upon by a Number of Gentlemen from whom he received the Compliments of Congratulation."<sup>1</sup> He figured also in ceremonies of a more solemn sort. The diary of his contemporary, John Rowe, records:

1766, Sep. 12, Fryday. in Afternoon I went to the Funeral of My Old Friend Sam<sup>l</sup> Wentworth. his Bearers were. Old Mr Benj<sup>a</sup> Fan-  
euill Colo Henry Vafsall Mr Jos Lee Mr W<sup>m</sup> Sheaff Mr Richard  
Clark and Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Brinly.<sup>2</sup>

As to the more intimate family life in that noted "seat," especially in the earlier years, the annalist is supplied with scanty information. One familiar figure in the experience of every young couple is not entirely obscured — the mother-in-law. With the Vassalls her relations seem to have been affectionate and appreciative. According to Mr. William Fessenden, Jr.,

Being at the House of Mr. Henry Vafsall in Cambridge some time in the Fall of the Year 1745 I there saw an ancient Lady, who, (as I was then informed) was Mrs. Vafsall's Mother. She asked me if I knew her son Isaac I replied I did know him, and that we went to the School in Cambridge at one and the same Time. She farther asked me if I had heard any Thing about Him that Day, I told [her] I had not she seemed to me to be full of Concern about Him, for as I understood by Her, Her Son was not well She after this proceeded in Her Discourse, according to [the] best of my Remembrance as follows viz. I am come to tarry with my Daughter Penne (as she called Mrs. Vafsall) till Mr. Vafsall's return I sometimes visit at one Child's and then at Another's But my Son's I call my Home She further said She hoped Mr Vafsall would not make a long tarry for she wanted to go home — She also said Her Children were all ye Comfort she had left and that they were all kind and Tender to Her.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Boston Newsletter*, August 12, 1756. The event was handled with such matter-of-course ease that not a ripple of its excitement is reflected in the household accounts for the day.

<sup>2</sup> MS. at Mass. Hist. Society. The concourse at Vassall's own funeral bore final witness to his standing in the community. See page 44.

<sup>3</sup> Affidavit in No. 129879, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judi-

For her son Isaac, on the other hand, her apparent solicitude proved sadly deceptive. When she died, in April of 1747, she left a long and complicated will, amidst all the involutions of which one painful fact was only too clear — Isaac had been omitted altogether. Her only immediate bequests were a thousand pounds to each of her three granddaughters and namesakes, Elizabeth Oliver, Elizabeth Royall, and Elizabeth Vassall. The gift to the last was "now lying in debts owing to me from her father Henry Vassall, on two bonds," of 1744, "both to remain in the hands of the executor until paid." The residue — the estate was all in bonds totalling almost £8000 — after a long trust term was to be divided between her daughters Ann Oliver and Penelope Vassall, for their own private and separate uses.

Thereupon Isaac Royall, having divided with Henry Vassall all the personality in which Madame Royall had only a life interest, entered into a solemn compact with him and Robert Oliver, father of Elizabeth Oliver, to break the will. But when the appeal was finally carried up to the Governor and Council, Henry Vassall's name was not on the papers. Whether this was due to his absence, or to some quarrel he had had with his fellow suitors, or to his own good business sense, we cannot say. At all events the appeal was dismissed, and the Vassalls were free to receive their appointed shares, undiminished either by contributions to the neglected Isaac (who was already rich enough in all conscience) or by costs of an expensive suit.<sup>1</sup>

Reminiscent mutterings of this family tempest evidently persisted for years, especially in the matter of the Antigua plantation. This, for some time after his marriage, Henry Vassall worked, in the right of his wife, as joint tenant with its other owner, Isaac Royall. Though both were extremely young for such responsibilities, their operations were so successful that early in 1747 they extended them by leasing a nearby tract of one hundred and forty-eight acres from Robert Oliver.<sup>2</sup> The next year, however, they recorded an agreement to hold "sundry

cial Court, Boston. Mr. Vassall's absence here implied was doubtless due to one of his trips to the West Indies.

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex Probate, 19543, O.S., and Case No. 129879, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver, *History of Antigua*, ii, 348.

negroes and horned cattle and horses, which they have jointly purchased since 1739, and put upon a certain plantation," no longer as joint tenants, but as tenants in common, "so that no right of survivorship be between them."<sup>1</sup> This may have been the outcome of what Royall refers to as "a Dispute between Mr. Vassall and myself in Antigua when he was on y<sup>e</sup> spot & I stade heir [*here*] waiting for y<sup>e</sup> event of our Scheme [to supersede Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire] which was a greater damage to me than y<sup>e</sup> former [loss on sugar]."<sup>2</sup>

The new arrangement made little practical difference, and the Colonel, who seems to have been the active partner throughout, continued his production of sugar and rum<sup>3</sup> so assiduously that his brother-in-law became jealous, accused him of monopolizing the plant, and brought suit "for the use and hire of the Windmill, Boiling House, Cureing House, Still house and other the Sugar Works erected and then being upon eight Acres and three quarters of Land of the s<sup>d</sup> Isaacs lying in the Division of Pope's head so called, in Antigua aforesd."

Again, however, the Colonel's business cleverness proved more than a match for his slow-witted associate, and thanks to a proviso he had inserted in their agreement, he obtained a verdict in his favor with costs, both in the lower court and on appeal. Thereupon the exasperated Royall actually brought a writ of review, but suffered the same fate a third time.<sup>4</sup> It is easy to conclude that this fresh wrangle paved the way for the partition of the whole estate a few years later, as will appear.

Of Henry Vassall's daily life when at Cambridge, the most extended and illuminating details are to be gathered from a

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 47/338. Vassall was then apparently in Antigua, as his signature had to be sworn to in Boston by one of the witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> Royall to Waldron, Charlestown, January 15, 1749/50. *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, vi, 67. We have here a perfect cameo of the two men — Royall easy-going and gullible, losing money by inaction; Vassall energetic, perhaps rather quarrelsome, but carrying his point.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Affidavit of Stephen Greenleaf in the appeal on Mrs. Royall's will; that he worked for her many years, and "whenever he carried in his accots she asked him what he would drink; he told her some of Mr Isaac Royalls Double Still'd Rum And accordingly she sent for it & had it & gave it him and further Deponent Saith not."

<sup>4</sup> No. 68209, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.

little expense book kept by him during the years 1755–1759.<sup>1</sup> As this volume is the only known original source of information on our subject, it may bear somewhat extended quotation. The entries, from interior evidence, appear to be in "old tenor," a depreciated currency then fast disappearing, which passed for "lawful money" at the rate of seven and a half for one,—lawful money, the standard of value in New England, being in turn worth only three-quarters of sterling.<sup>2</sup>

The high cost of living first claims our attention. A load of wood was worth £2:10, of hay £7:7:6, a thousand of lath £3, "20 locust posts" £9, 53½ bushels of oats £26:15:6, 8 lbs. wax candles £7:10, a yoke of oxen £130, a hog £16, two shoats £9:18, the freight of a horse from Philadelphia £8:5, and "six boat loads of Mud [? manure] £24." For the table, butter was 4/6 the pound, "a loaf of Single refin'd sugar" £3:5:10, "fish" £6 per quintal, geese 18/ each, numberless barrels of cider 70/ a barrel, and Lisbon wine £50 per cask. Pork and Indian-meal, the staples of Colonial diet, figure steadily of course on the *ménage*; but there are plenty of more appetizing items: oysters, herrings, "mackarell," salmon, sausages, cheese, almonds, pears, radishes, "spinnach," turnips, "garlix," pease, white beans, "biseuet," ducks, chickens, turkeys, fowls, "colebrands," quails, teal, pigeons, beef, calveshead, rabbits, lamb, veal, venison, and quantities of "lemonns," honey, and "chocolat."

For personal use we find sundry pairs of "Lemonee handkercheifs" at £24 a pair,

- "a Wigg, £12"
- "Earing [sic]<sup>3</sup> for Betsey £2:5"
- "a Hatt, £14"
- "pocket compass & silver pen £12:7:6"
- "Desk for Betsey £35"

<sup>1</sup> Loaned to the Cambridge Historical Society in 1914 by Mrs. Oliver McCowen. (See note, page 8.) It is 4½ by 7 inches, bound in limp marbled-paper covers, and contains toward the back a number of blank pages. "Henry Vassall 1755" is writ large on the fly-leaf, but the first entries are of the journey of 1755. See page 26.

<sup>2</sup> The net result of all which is that the prices here given are just ten times their equivalents in sterling.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Gold wires for ears" of John Vassall's daughter Lucy, aged twelve. Guardian's Accounts, Middlesex Probate, 23339, Old Series.

<u>1758 Septemb.</u>	<u>Brought over £</u>	<u>535. 10 ½</u>
1 <sup>st</sup> . Expences to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Spear for paving Stones -	13. 10	
2 <sup>d</sup> . Mr. Pierce d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . him in part of my note dated 3 <sup>rd</sup> January 24 <sup>th</sup> 1757	128.	
Expences to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys by Toney	15. 5	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	5. 3	
5 <sup>th</sup> . Mr. Pierce d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . him in full of my note -	52	
Expences d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	1. 17. 6	
6 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sale of Rentue in full as Fleet	18.	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	9.	
7 <sup>th</sup> . Mr. Vassall d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Caleb Prentie Fleet	185. 1. 2	
7 <sup>th</sup> . Expences d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Mobs Richardson for board and Rent d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . him in full as Fleet	46. 17. 7	
Expences d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	49. 10.	
8 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Meal &c	4. 4	
9 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	7. 4	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Bridge in full as Fleet	6.	
Abraham Vassall d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . him	47. - . 6	
11 <sup>th</sup> . Expences d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	3. 15.	
13 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	3. 18.	
15 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . W. Lloyd for candles in full p <sup>d</sup> . Fleet	13. 5.	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	53.	
16 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	7.	
18 <sup>th</sup> . do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . wood £6. 15/ Sundrys £1. 8/-	3. 13.	
John Parker d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . him on ac't. Wood p <sup>d</sup> . Fleet	8. 3.	
19. Expences d. to Cash p <sup>d</sup> . wax candle 8 -	75.	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . S. Henry Prentie alia touch	7. 10.	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	10. 2. 1	
20. do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . M <sup>r</sup> . Chapman	4. 19.	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	10. - . 8	
21. do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . wood	8. - . 3	
do. d. to do. p <sup>d</sup> . Sundrys	1. 18.	
	10. 2. 1	
	Paid over £ 9325. 0. 0%	

A PAGE OF HENRY VASSALL'S ACCOUNTS  
(Actual size)



“cork Shoes £6”  
 “stays for Eliz. Vassall £25” [She was sixteen!]  
 “stays for P[enelope]. V[assall]. £37”  
 “gave Betsey to buy a Gown £40”  
 “Eliz<sup>th</sup> Vassall to buy a Quilt £25”  
 “cash pd. fustian for her £4:10”  
 “Mending watches £2:10”  
 “watch Chain &c £2:5”  
 “tape & Camomile flowers £1:16”  
 “Leather Breeches for Abraham Hasey £12:15”

and several rather unexpected charges for “weaving cotton and linen at the Manufactory.” Entries like the above, we must remember, were only the small local expenditures. Frequent references to “imposts of goods from London” show where the more important purchases were made.

An idea of the demands upon the purse of a prominent man is given:

1756 March 18th pd. Howe for my rates in full £31:7:10  
 April 26th pd. Tappin, ministerial rates £13:8:3  
     Hasey's Ditto £3:4:3  
 August 20th pd. Craddock my Subscription to Dipper [the organist at King's Chapel] £10:10  
 Nov. Sam'l Whittemore, one third of my subscription to ye [Cambridge] meeting house £50  
     Marratt for ye Parson's chaize £4:10

1757 Jan. 12th pd. S. Palmer for my taxes £38:10:11  
 Sept. 17th. S. Whittemore being in full of my subscription to the meeting house in Cambridge £100

1758 Feb. 3d. Prentice for taxes £55:19:0  
     pd. Sheaffe my Subscription to rice [?] £10  
     Cash pd at Charitable Society<sup>1</sup> £10:15:6  
     Ministerial taxes £17:5:0  
     Tickets for Concert £11:5  
     pd 10 tickets Boston Lottery Clas N° 6 £45  
     Henry Prentice alias touch £10:2:1  
         [an early use of the slang term]  
     Prentice, touch in full £10:10

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John Rowe's *Diary*, October 4, 1764. “Spent the eveng at the Charitable Society . . . . gave away Charity about twenty dollars.”

Dec. 25th. pd. at Trinity Church £19:10:0

given E[lizabeth] O[liver] & E. V. £3:13

1759 April at Charitable Society £17:17:6

Besides the slaves, of whom anon,<sup>1</sup> various workpeople and local tradesmen move in and out among these pages,—“Griggs y<sup>e</sup> Gardner,” “Gamage y<sup>e</sup> Cooper,” “Nancy y<sup>e</sup> manteau maker,” “Welch, Glazier,” “Dutch Betty,” “Curtis the Wheelwright,” and so on.<sup>2</sup> Abraham Hasey, the college carpenter,<sup>3</sup> stands out most prominently of all. Between him and Henry Vassall there plainly existed some close though unexplained relationship. For the support of this humble artisan (and his wife) the gilded man-about-town enters constant expenditures, covering food, drink, clothing, rates, taxes, and pocket money. Even his father-in-law, Samuel Felch the tailor, was remembered. Payments are also made to

“Jenkins for paper hangings”  
 “Colpee for washing”  
 “Mrs. Phillips for nursing”  
 “Isaac Stearns for cyder”

<sup>1</sup> See page 61 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Another rather famous retainer was “Miss Molly Hancock, whom, as old Molly, we recollect in our early days. She had been employed by the court circle, and her admiration of the Vassals and others of those old-style gentry remained unchanged by time. Her expression was, ‘You could worship the ground they trod on.’ The past was enough for her, she did not desire to be reconciled to the present. Her small old cottage stood on Garden Street, a short distance from the northeast corner of Appian Way.” John Holmes, “Harvard Square,” *Harvard Book*, ii, 44. Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 573.

<sup>3</sup> Faculty Records, 1762 *et seq.* Abraham Hasey married, January 17, 1739-40, Jemima, daughter of Samuel Felch of Reading, who had recently come to Cambridge. She was born in the former town January 21, 1718. Hasey owned a small piece of property on the Watertown road, adjoining John Vassall, and was taxed 1/9 for it in 1770. After the death of his benefactor, however, he had to realize on it. See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 542. Harris, *Vassalls of New England*, 18. *Felch Family History*, pt. ii, ch. vii. Middlesex Deeds, *passim*. Cambridge Court Records, 1742-48. Mass. Archives, 130/430.

Isaac Hasey, undoubtedly his son, enjoyed, probably through the kindness of Henry Vassall, the college education (class of 1762) which the Colonel himself never had the advantage of. His lowly social position is shown by his “placing” in the class, the last among fifty-one. Nevertheless the boy had good stuff in him, and after “proceeding A.M.” became the first minister of Lebanon, Maine. *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, xiv, 90. *Harvard Graduates’ Magazine*, xxv, 190.

- "Jno. Walland for a wigg for Hasey"
- "Mrs. Stearnes for her trouble"
- "cash to pay ye pedlar"
- "Welch for mending windows"
- "ye Tinker for mending sundrys"
- "Dedham Girl for Onions"
- "Robeshaw's<sup>1</sup> daughter for washing"
- "Crawford on acet. paving"
- "Mrs. Sables for nursing"<sup>2</sup>

There is, besides, a long account with the famous Judah Monis, who varied his teaching of Hebrew at college by keeping a hardware emporium.

Though the Colonel had no son of his own, a similar responsibility, as has been mentioned, fell to him in 1757, when his deceased brother Lewis's children, Anna, aged eighteen, and Lewis, aged sixteen, nominated for their guardian their "Honored Uncle Henry Vassall, of Cambridge, Esquire." They came from the Braintree side of the family. Since their father's death (and doubtless before it) they had been educated and maintained "by the net proceeds of sugar and molasses received from Sayers & Gale, George Ruggles and others, at Jamaica."<sup>3</sup> Lewis Vassall was already in Harvard College,<sup>4</sup> as a member of the class of 1760, wherein he was "placed" according to social precedence as number five on a list of twenty-seven.<sup>5</sup> The accounts give an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Christ Church Building Accounts: "1761 Augt pd Robishew digging the cellar & 13 days work ₧ Accot £16.—S." Louis Robicheau was one of the Arcadian exiles or "French neutrals" billeted on Cambridge in 1755.

<sup>2</sup> The number of entries for nursing, at a period when Miss Elizabeth was well out of her infancy, somehow suggests that Mrs. Vassall was more or less of an invalid.

<sup>3</sup> Suffolk Probate, 57/309. See Harris, *Vassalls of New England*.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the inadequate dormitory accommodations he was "boarding" at Mary Minot's, with his sister Nancy. Betsy Vassall (then aged fifteen) was also "boarding" — probably at school in Boston — at George Craddock's.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that number one was Thomas Brattle. Nearly a year was consumed in collecting and weighing the data for the "placing" of each class, the final arbitrament not being announced until March or April after the freshmen had entered. The anxious punctilio with which the duty was done may be gathered from the following entry in the Faculty Records: "15 April 1760. At this Meeting also Noyes's Place in his Clafs was consider'd & as his Father is a Justice of the Peace wch we did not know when the Clafs was plac'd, it was agreeed the Place assignd him [No.

excellent idea of the outlays for a pretty young gentleman in the best society of his day:

Letter of Guardianship for Lewis & Ann Vassall £4:10
[December 2, 1757]
Lewis to buy books £4:10
Subscription to Lovell [probably the master of the Boston Latin School] £11:5:0
Lewis Vassall, cash pd him to buy cyder & for pocket expenses £6:15:0
Lewis Vassall, cash for Entrance [fee] for Dancing [school] <sup>1</sup> 90/- for Ent; for fencing 100/- for him to buy Corks £2:5:0
Lewis Vassall, to buy a horace & for Pocket Expenses £8:5
Lewis Vassall, pair of pumps for him £3:5:0
Lewis Vassall, Cash pd. Mefrs Gould for Holland & Cambrick for his Shirts, £56:17:6

This little book, moreover, opens out a horizon wider than that of Cambridge, or even of Boston. (To reach the latter, by the way, there are various entries of "ferriage," showing that even the possessors of chariots did not always care for the villainous eight-mile road to the metropolis.) Henry Vassall travelled extensively. Sometimes the trips were short, as in May, 1759, a "journey to Plymouth £14:10." In October of 1756 we find the "Expenses of Journey at, to & from Rhode Island £36," and a similar entry just a year later.<sup>2</sup> In March and April of 1755 — the earliest entries in the book — are the road-house charges of

[16] was too low, & after the Matter was debated it was voted that his Place shou'd be between Henshaw & Angier [i.e., No. 8]."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the guardianship accounts for Lucy Vassall, daughter of John Jr.: "1758 June 19 Pd. Entrance at Dancing School 12/- . . . . Dec. 9 Ephraim Turner 1/4 years Dancing 16/-" (Middlesex Probate, 23339, Old Series.) Such social advantages were then as now sought in Boston, though it is doubtful if the Harvard undergraduates frequented them as largely as at present. Some years later, in 1766, the Corporation Records mention that "a dancing school hath lately been open'd in Cambridge & divers Scholars of this House have attended it, without Leave from the Government of the College," a condition of things that was adjudged "of bad Consequence," so that the "Disapprobation" of the president and fellows was to be signified to the selectmen, — after which, it is to be supposed, the local cult of Terpsichore languished.

<sup>2</sup> Probably business trips, Newport being the New York City of Colonial commerce.

a trip, probably made on horseback, through Greenwich, Charlestowm, "Stoneington," and Groton to New London, where the rider "pd y<sup>e</sup> N. London Pilot £27" and evidently crossed the Sound. Then "p<sup>d</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> fire place on Long Island at Miller's £14:10," and on through "S. Hampton," "river head," "[Mr.] Blidenburgh<sup>1</sup> at Smith town," Hampstead, Jamaica, "Flatt bush," "ye Narrows," "Statten Island," "Eliz<sup>th</sup> town," Brunswick, "Prince town," and "Trentown" to Bristol. The trip, to this point (where the record ceases), took eleven days.

His business interests in the West Indies carried him even farther afield. As has been said, his wife's plantation at Antigua necessitated trips to that island at frequent intervals. One such voyage was made in 1763.<sup>2</sup> Again on May 19, 1763, John Rowe notes: "Col. Henry Vassall sailed this afternoon in Capt. Phillips for Antigua."<sup>3</sup> His own Jamaica property, too, demanded personal attention. Though he early sold some of his estates there, he long managed to extract a good deal of revenue from that locality.<sup>4</sup> One of his journeys thither crops up somewhat oddly among the records of the college with which he had no real affiliations. At a meeting of the president and fellows, December 14, 1756:

Vafsall, senr<sup>5</sup> (A senior sophister) having some considerable Difficulties, about the Rents of his Estate at Jamaica & desiring Leave to go thither to look after Them, His Guardian also the Lieut.

<sup>1</sup> I am informed that the name of Blidenburgh is still honorably represented at Smithtown. A little cluster of houses at a landing on the extreme eastern tip of Long Island is still known as Fire Place.

<sup>2</sup> See page 36. On this visit we catch sight of him attending the auction sale of the "furniture &c of John Watkins Esq. Mr in Chancery deed" and bidding in "A Mahogany shaving stand £4.18.0" while his friend Thomas Oliver went the whole figure and spent £900 on slaves, silver, and pictures. Antigua records for 1763, communicated by Vere L. Oliver, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> *Diary*, 82. Concerning this voyage see page 40.

<sup>4</sup> From entries in the back of the little account book it appears that in 1758 he received a single remittance from George Ruggles of £1000 sterling "on Acc't of J. V's Estate" and another of £100 "on Acc't of Top Hill Estate." Cf. the statement of his brother William after the Revolution: "I spent £50,000 stg. in the United States, every farthing of which I received from my Jamaica estate." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, Temple Papers*, ii, 105.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., John Vassall, '57, thus distinguished because Lewis Vassall, '60, had just entered college.

Governr, [Spenceer Phips] backing those his Desires, the sd Affair now came under our Consideration.

Inasmuch then, as the sd Vafsall's Unekle, Coll<sup>o</sup> Vafsall of this Town, is going to Jamaica & will take him under his Care, & also endeavour to assist Him in the Businefs he goes upon, It was now Voted, That the sd Vafsall be allow'd to proceed on a Voyage to Jamaica, for the Ends affores<sup>d</sup>. But that he have not Liberty, to be absent from the College more than four Months, but that He be here to attend his Businefs at the College, on or before the first Day of May next.<sup>1</sup>

Yet why drag in business interests when one speaks of the Cambridge Loyalists? The serious affairs that obviously must have engaged some portion of their time and energy are invariably obscured in popular fancy by the more picturesque side of their life, that alone seems to be remembered to-day. For good or ill we always envisage them, as it were, through the golden, lilac-scented haze of a perpetual June. Hardly had they fled from their lovely villas before a new arrival in one of them, echoing the envious gossip she heard around her, began the tradition by writing that "the owners had been in the habit of assembling every afternoon in one or another of these houses and of diverting themselves with music or dancing, and lived in affluence, in good humor and without care."<sup>2</sup> That they

<sup>1</sup> "College Book No. 7," Harvard Corporation Records. It is to be observed that such an absence from college was plainly a very serious matter, granted only by the highest authority of the University, and under pressure from the most influential sources, to a student whose wealth and position entitled him to be "placed" second in his class.

This voyage to Jamaica explains a hiatus in the little account book from February 11 to September 15, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Madame Ridescl*, 195. This, the stock quotation when speaking of the Cambridge Loyalists, has probably done more than any other to settle their reputation with the sons of the Puritans. The pride which these urbane gentry took in their "good humour" is as curious as the disfavor with which the rest of the community regarded it. Their rector plumed himself on the fact that "the people of our communion are generally frank, open, sincere . . . their actions are social, generous and free. There is likewise among them a politeness and elegance which to a censorious eye may look worldly and voluptuous." (Apthorp, *A Review, etc.*, 50.) To the eye of the redoubtable Jonathan Mayhew the Church of England men appeared "often exceedingly loose, profligate, vain and censorious," and their clergy disgraced themselves by "a pretty gay, debonair and jovial countenance." *Observations, etc.*, 74.

managed to extract far more pleasure out of existence than their more serious-minded neighbors is indisputable. "Notwithstanding plays and such like diversions do not obtain here," wrote a visitor to Boston about the time of Henry Vassall's marriage, "they don't seem to be dispirited nor moped for want of them; for both the ladies and gentlemen dress and appear as gay, in common, as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday. And the ladies here visit, drink tea, and indulge every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode, and neglect the affairs of their families with as good grace as the finest ladies in London."<sup>1</sup> A favorite form of recreation was *al fresco* entertainments, or in winter convivial indoor parties, at the famous hostgeries scattered through the beautiful country about Boston. The account book gives sundry hints of such excursions:

1756	April 22nd. p <sup>d</sup> y <sup>e</sup> reckng at Larnards £20.11.4
	May 10th. p <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> s Coolidge tavern keepers wife in full £2.10
	August 6th. Expences at the Castle &c. £2.17.6
	Sep. 21 fishing lines & hooks £1.7
1757	Dec. 20th. p <sup>d</sup> at Gratons <sup>2</sup> £4.15
	Dec. 23d Sundrys at Smiths £4.10
1758	May 13th Expences at Dracut £17.5
	June 29th p <sup>d</sup> at Natick £4.10
1759	Apr. 6 Cash p <sup>d</sup> at Watertown £8.

The Colonel's friend, John Rowe, in his *Diary* a few years later, gives notes of a more extended and social nature. Thus:

1766 Sep. 23 I went to Fresh Pond & din'd there on Turtle with Henry Vassall & wife & (a large company)

A frequent member of these gatherings, and a close intimate of the family, was a certain ill-defined cosmopolite, one Michael Trollett, a French Swiss, last hailing from Dutch Guiana, rich

<sup>1</sup> Bennett, "History of New England," (1740) *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1860, 125. The same conditions were noted by a guest of the Colonel's ten years later: "The People of Boston dress very genteel & In my Opinion both men & Women are too Expensive in that respect." *Some Cursory Remarks made by James Birket, cte. 1750.*

<sup>2</sup> John Greaton kept "The Greyhound" at Roxbury. Coolidge's tavern was at "Watertown Bridge." See Pierce's delightful essay on the amusements of Colonial Boston in his introduction to *Letters and Diary of John Rowe*. For Smith's at Watertown see page 31.

and gouty, trying in vain to get a scapegrace son through Harvard, and finally disappearing in the direction of Lancaster.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Michael Trollet Esqr Native of Geneva of French Extract deceas'd Sunday Morning July 17th. 1774." (Nourse, *Lancaster Register*, 160.) He is almost always mentioned in connection with Henry Vassall; Rowe notes with surprise, "1765, Feb. 16, Went to see Mr. Trollet who I found alone." He owned no real estate in Cambridge, although his personal taxes were almost as high as Vassall's in 1770. (Mass. Archives, 130/430, where the name is entered as "Truelatt.") He had the gout as early as 1759, and gradually attained some celebrity as a martyr in the cause of high living. "Gouty Trollet is going to Live at Lancaster," wrote the second rector of Christ Church, Winwood Serjeant, to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Browne, October 7, 1772.

His son, Michael James Trollett, entered Harvard from "Surinam," at the age of sixteen in 1759, ranking socially number 18 out of 42. His hectic career may be traced in the Faculty Records. In March, 1760, he was fined 6/3 for five days' absence, and in April, 2/6 for two days. In June he was away "a Week and 5 Daries," and was mulcted 16/3. In July, "Agreed also that Trollett be punishd with a pecuniary Mulet for going out of Town wthout Leave five several Times according to the College Law provided in That Case viz Twelve Shillings & 6d @ 2/6 P<sup>t</sup> Time. That Trollet also for two very great Crimes, One for refusing more than once to come to his Tutr when sent for. The other, For greatly neglecting his College Exercises notwithstanding the pecuniary Mulets inflicted by his Tutr: be punish'd as ye College law in case directs viz by Degradation. viz. Ten places in his Clafs and that henceforth he take his place between Putnam junr & Senr Furthermore wth Respect to Trollett. Collo Brattle having made complaint to us, That the sd Trollet grofsly insulted his train'd Compa wh under Arms, by firing a Squib or Serpent among their firelocks when loaded & primed & all grounded, wrby he great[ly] endanger'd the limbs @ least of the Souldiers & Spectators; yet he (Collo Brattle) having said, That he wou'd not desire the said Trollett shou'd be animadverted upon by us: Provided he wou'd give Satisfaction to him for that his Offense, Therefore agreed, that before we consider that his Affair, He (Trollet) shou'd have Time & Opportunity given him wherein to endeav'r to make the sd Collo Brattle a proper Satisfaction. The Presdt read to Trollet the above vote referring to Collo Brattle immediately after this Meeting.—The above Vote with respect to Trollett's degradation was executed in the Chapel July 9 imediately after Morning Prayer." In September, "Voted That Palmer . . . & Trollet, be punish'd one shilling & 6d each, for making tumultuous & indecent noises, in the College . . . that they be all of ym sent for before us (excepting Trollet who was not in Town, & whose punishment must therefore be deferr'd to some other Time) . . . ." In October, "That Hill senr & Trollett be punish'd one Shilling & 6d Each for making tumultuous & indecent Noises in the College. And that for an Insult made upon Mr. Thayer one of the Tutors of this House, They both be publicly admonish'd & Degraded, viz. Hill fourteen Places in his Clafs & take his Place henceforth between Adams and Hunts present Place. And that Trollet be degraded to the lowest place in his Clafs.—The above Vote executed Oct. 8 imediately after morning Prayers." The

Rowe records, for instance:

1766 Sep. 18 I went to Mr. Smith's Farm at Watertown Mr<sup>r</sup> Fessenden's Brother & dined there with Mr<sup>r</sup> James Smith & wife Mr<sup>r</sup> Murray & wife, Two Mrs Belchers Mr<sup>r</sup> Inman, Mr<sup>r</sup> Walter Colo Henry Vassall & wife Mr<sup>r</sup> Trollet, Mrs Cutler<sup>1</sup> Mr<sup>r</sup> J. Amiel & wife & Miss Chrissy, Capt<sup>t</sup> Buntin & Two French Gentlemen from Guadaloce.

1767 June 8. Called on Henry Vassall & Mr<sup>r</sup> Trollet, spent an hour with them & then Capt<sup>t</sup> Ingram & I went to Freshpond a fishng. . . .

These whiffs of a foreign *entourage* are very characteristic of the atmosphere which envelops the Vassalls in a semi-romantic glamour. Passing and repassing, with a freedom unknown to-day, between the languorous luxury of their southern islands and the prosaic austerity of their northern surroundings, they not unnaturally chose their cronies from among the ingratiating *noblesse* of the Caribbean, the swarthy grandes of the Spanish Main, who through business or pleasure alternated as their hosts on the enchanted shores of the Antilles and their guests in sedate Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> For the New England gentry, even in the best

Quarter Bill Book for this period shows that Trollett's fines, beginning with 1/6 in the first quarter of 1759, mounted to the shocking sum of £2.6.9 by the fourth—far the largest of the whole college. In the third quarter of his sophomore year he abruptly disappears, and the Faculty Records contain the final note: "Memo Trollet gave up his Chamber, Novr 7, 1760."

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Anna Cutler figures frequently in the later records of the Vassall household,—at the dinner-table, on pleasure parties, as witness to documents, etc. She was the wife of Captain Ebenezer Cutler, long the Town Clerk of Lincoln. Her daughter Sarah married in 1764 Samuel Hill, a Cambridge carpenter with an unfortunate reputation for shiftlessness. The Cutlers on the other hand, though in reduced circumstances, were of eminent respectability, and were somewhat notable managers; and as Mrs. Cutler was considerably older than Mrs. Vassall it seems likely that she was employed as a sort of upper-housekeeper, or perhaps as ducenna for Miss Elizabeth. See Middlesex Probate, 5502 and 5510, Old Series. *Cutler Memorial*, 33. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 585.

<sup>2</sup> A delicate sub-tropical aroma exhales even now from the wills and inventories of the family and their connections,—a seductive blend of coffee and spice and sugar, slaves and molasses and rum—especially rum. While the bone and sinew of New England were hard at work buying and selling, importing and smuggling these indispensables, the actual producers thereof were lolling in their splendid town and country houses, satisfying themselves with occasional jaunts to oversee their overseers. This West Indian influence on our local records is typically illustrated by the Vassalls. Old Leonard entailed on his son Lewis "my Plantation and Sugarwork in Luana, in the parish of St. Elizabeth's in Jamaica," and devised to his

social life of Boston, the Colonel did not seem to care overmuch. Possibly he did not feel altogether at home among them. Rowe, in those long-drawn lists of guests at dinners, club meetings, and public functions, never mentions him as appearing in town, except semi-occasionally at his brother William's. Around his own mahogany tree, nevertheless, he delighted to gather select coteries, not forgetting the young friends of Miss Elizabeth. *E.g.*

1765, February 12, Wednesday. Went to Cambridge this forenoon & dined at Henry Vassall's with him & Mrs. Vassall Mr Jnnman Mifs Bettsy Vassall Mifs Pen: Winslow The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Griffiths & Mr<sup>s</sup> Cutler also Mrs Row & young Edw<sup>d</sup> Winslow<sup>1</sup>

We may thus fancy him engrossed and satisfied with the charmed inner circle of Cambridge, extending his own princely hospitality to relatives, intimates, and distinguished visitors.

Typical, we may be sure, was the welcome accorded to James Birket, a wealthy Antiguan who arrived in Boston during September, 1750, on a tour through New England. Although furnished with letters of introduction to a number of prominent residents, he almost immediately selected the most congenial among them and "went home w<sup>th</sup> II Vassells to Cambridge in his Chariot." At the house he found more guests—"Old Parson Jn<sup>o</sup> Chickly<sup>2</sup> & his wife come from Providence In a Chair 47

son William an interest in another "on Green Island River, near Orange Bay in the Parish of Hannover, at the West end of Jamaica and Joyning the Plantation I have given by Deed unto my Son John" (apparently "on the Barquadier black river in the Island of Jamaica"). John Jr. owned "Newfound River Plantation in Jamaica." A cousin, Florentius Vassall, had "several plantations in the parish of Westmoreland, Jamaica, known as Friendship, Greenwich and Sweet River." Other relatives owned a good part of Barbados. The Royall property in Antigua has been described. The wife of young Isaae Royall inherited "Lands and Plantations called Fairfield lying in Commewine River in the Province of Surinam." Of young John Vassall's sisters, Lucy married John Lavicount, the heir of "Long Lane, Delaps & Windward in St. Peter's Parish, Antigua," while Elizabeth espoused Thomas Oliver from the same island. Henry's sister Susanna married George Ruggles, a wealthy merchant of Jamaica. All these fine gentlemen resided in Cambridge for longer or shorter intervals.

<sup>1</sup> MS. of Rowe's Diary at Mass. Hist. Society. Vassall's well-known hospitality to the clergy was woefully abused by the "Rev. Mr. Griffiths." The fellow had just arrived as successor to East Apthorp in the rectorship of Christ Church, but turned out an arrant impostor and thief named Mieux.

<sup>2</sup> The indomitable John Checkley, now nearing the end of his pilgrimage, but a notable figure twenty-five years before in the early stages of the great

Miles." Some ten days were spent in dining, sight-seeing, and excursions, along precisely the same lines still employed by Cambridge hosts:

Sept. 10. Henry Vassels & Self went in his Chace to Dorchester to dine with Cole<sup>o</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Oliver being 9 Miles Returned in the Evening.

11th. We went with a Couple of Country Clergymen, Conducted by Hancock one of the Tutors to See the College at Cambridge . . . After our return from the Colledg dined with II Vassels.

12th. H. Vassels, One Ellerey,<sup>1</sup> Old Chickley And myself Went in 2 Chases to Castle William, which Stands upon an Island in the Bay 3 Miles below Boston and 12 from Cambridge where we dined with the Captain Chaplain &C in the Great Hall

Upon leaving, however, he received an attention which few modern hosts would have either the time or the money to bestow.

18th. Set out for Rhode Island, H. Vassels And his Wife, Mary Phipps The Lieut<sup>t</sup> Goves Daughter w<sup>th</sup> Two Servants &C To Accompany me So far on my Journey.

Under the tutelage of this pleasant party he spent a week visiting and inspecting Providence and Newport. Finally, with obvious regret, he notes:

24th. This Morning I Accompany'd my good friends Henry Vassals & his Spouse And Mary Phips on their return back as far as Bristol ferry which is 12 Miles where I took leave of 'em.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the last of the Colonel's entertainments were those connected with the wedding of his daughter Elizabeth in 1768. The lucky man was Dr. Charles Russell of Charlestown.<sup>3</sup> After

"Episcopal Controversy." Henry Vassall's churchmanship was of the practical kind that always kept open house for the cloth.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the second husband of Lucy, widow of the Colonel's brother John, now deceased.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Cursory Remarks made by James Birket in his Voyage to N. America 1750-51.* Concerning Cambridge itself, he observes: "The Town of Cambridge is well Situated . . . but has no trade (being too Near to Boston) the Inhabitants depends Chiefly on their Courts &C being the Chife of a County And the Colledge &C There are Some good homes here and the town is laid out very Regular, but for want of trade One 4<sup>th</sup> part of it is not built." In an appended list of his letters of introduction he enters "one for Henry Vassals Esqr my true fr'd."

<sup>3</sup> "1768, February 17. I paid a visit to Colo. Henry Vassall & Family

graduating from Harvard in 1757 and studying medicine in England and Scotland—a rare privilege in those days—he had set up in practice at Lincoln, on an estate inherited from his uncle, Judge Russell. The bride was one of that fair bevy of patrician maidens whom a later chronicler who loved his "old" Cambridge has described as sympathetically as if he himself had felt their charm. "They blend prettily the courtly elegance which they emulate, with the simplicity of manner that is their provincial birthright. Though conforming to the general habits of New England, they are free from the more rigorous restraints of Puritanism. Their holiday life is to be a short one. We find plenty of beauty, but no familiar countenances in that group. They have left no copies here by which to recognize them. Not many years hence those soft eyes will look westward through exiles' tears to the home that is to know them no more. Some of those dainty hands must break the bitter bread of dependence, and some prepare the scanty meal of poverty."<sup>1</sup> Let us hope that the young couple had a merry honeymoon, unshadowed by the fates that were soon to overtake them.

Unfortunately we have reason to believe that these sumptuous festivities in the Vassall house were frequently accompanied by a good deal of dissipation. Gaming for high stakes was a well-known family failing. The Colonel's brother William was left a handsome estate by his father's will "upon this special Proviso and Condition, that he go before two Magistrates . . . and solemnly make oath that for the future he will not play any Game whatsoever to the value of 20 s. at any one time."<sup>2</sup> His other brother John, who burned himself out at the early age of thirty-four, was described as "giving himself up to pleasure" and "spending his money in pleasures," both in the new world and the old.<sup>3</sup> Only too accurately, it is to be feared, did the facetious Mr. Jabez Fitch, on observing, in 1775, the family crest of the goblet and the sun, deduce that the bearers thereof

where I found Dr Russell who was married to Miss Betty on Monday Last." John Rowe, *Diary*.

<sup>1</sup> John Holmes, "Harvard Square," *Harvard Book*, ii, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Suffolk Probate, 33/210.

<sup>3</sup> Waldron to Royall, Portsmouth, 1747 and 1748. *New Hampshire Prop. Papers*, vi, 43, 45, etc. It is only fair to state, per contra, that the little account book contains no entries that can be identified as losses at play,

were accustomed to drink wine by daylight.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the only "pen picture" that we have of our hero is a sadly unfavorable one. It is attributed to the old family slave Darby, of whom more hereafter.<sup>2</sup> According to his recollections many years later,

"Col. Henry Vassall was a very wicked man. It was common remark that he was 'the Devil.' He was a gamester and spent a great deal of money in cards and lived at the rate of 'seven years in three,' and managed to run out nearly all his property; so that Old Madam when she came back after the peace was very poor. He was a severe and tart master to his people; and when he was dying and asked his servants to pray for him, they answered that he might pray for himself."<sup>3</sup>

Biassed and overdrawn as we may hope this description to be — especially as coming from one who declared to his dying day that George Washington himself was "no gentleman"<sup>4</sup> — yet it certainly receives ample confirmation in one respect. Adroit as he seems to have been in business matters, Henry Vassall's pecuniary position was apparently permanently precarious. His

though there are a few purchases of the lottery tickets that were then so generally patronized.

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2d Series*, ix, 76. The goblet or vase, *Vas*, surmounted by the sun, *Sol*, formed one of those punning or "eanting" devices so much affected by the English heralds whenever the bearer's name could be tortured into such shape. The most conspicuous and arrogant use of the device still remaining is to be seen on the cenotaph of John Vassall, Sr., — the occasion of Fitch's deduction. This, one of the familiar "talle-shaped" tombs, displays no inscription whatever except the above emblems. It was to this that O. W. Holmes referred in his *Cambridge Churchyard*:

"Or gaze upon yon pillared stone,  
The empty urn of pride;  
There stand the Goblet and the Sun —  
What need of more beside?  
Where lives the memory of the dead  
Who made their tomb a toy?  
Whose ashes press that nameless bed?  
Go, ask the village boy."

The pride in these armorials seems to have been a family characteristic. Thus we find Miss Luey, daughter of John Jr., at the age of fifteen employing John Gore for "drawing a Coat of Arms," "painting the arms," and "Framing & Glazing Do." (1763–1764). Middlesex Probate, 23339, Old Series.

<sup>2</sup> See page 74 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> MS. notes by Dr. N. Hoppin *circa* 1855, in Christ Church papers.

<sup>4</sup> See page 75.

very start in life was far less generous than that given his brothers. He was only a younger son, and manifestly not a great favorite with his father.<sup>1</sup> When old Leonard died in 1737 it was found that the principal provision made for the lad in the will was the transfer of £3000 Jamaica currency owing to the testator from his other son John. To suggest that this was one reason for Henry's leaving the island and seeking the well-stocked matrimonial market of Boston may be ungallant; but it must be admitted that his courtship of Penelope Royall began shortly after she had become an heiress in her own right. Even this advantageous match did not steer him clear of financial shoals. He began to be in straits for ready money as early as 1744, when, as we have seen, he borrowed £1000 from his mother-in-law, Madame Royall. The next year, like a true man of fashion, he owed Billings Bros., his Boston tailors, no less than £621.19, and became so deeply embarrassed that he sold some of his Jamaica property to his brother John, who as a part of the consideration agreed to discharge the above debt, along (presumably) with many others.

This transaction, we may observe in passing, was the indirect cause of preserving to us the only known first-hand statement of our hero — giving us a glimpse of his mode of life and manner of doing business, as well as of his last sickness. In John's settlement with Billings a question arose as to the allowance to be made for the depreciation of the currency, a bone of contention that our more stable monetary system has happily buried. A long-standing dispute ensued, and finally the executors of the parties, now both deceased, carried the matter to the highest court. Among the papers in the case<sup>2</sup> occurs the following:

I Henry Vassall do testify and swear that in the year 1746 I sold an Estate I had in Jamaica to my Brother John Vassall which was to be paid for at different Times and in different Ways, among the Rest he was to discharge a Bond I had given to Messrs. Billings's which he did & delivered to me, how he did it, I then knew not, from which Time I heard nothing of it untill the [year] 1763, when

<sup>1</sup> He was, for instance, the only boy of the family whom the old gentleman did not see fit to send through Harvard College.

<sup>2</sup> *Vassall v. Billings*, No. 147649, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.

a Day or two after my Arrival from Antigua, Mr. Richard Billings & Mr. Ezekiel Goldthwait came to my House and desired to speak with me, accordingly we went into my Garden, when Mr. Billings told me he had Some Difficulty in settling with my Nephew John Vassall and asked me about the settlement of the Bond, whether I could remember if I had allowed Depreciation, I told him all that I remembered was that there was such a Bond but it was so long ago that I did not recollect the Particulars of settling it, but imagined the Bond would shew it, he asked me to let him see the Bond, I told him I could not look for it then, but I should be in Boston in a few Days & that I would look for it & bring it with me, which I accordingly did & shew'd it to Mr. Rich<sup>d</sup> Billings who desired me to let him have it to shew Mr. Goldthwait, I told him no, but I should be on Change at one of ye Clock where if Mr. Goldthwait came, he might see it, which he did and I shewed it to him. About a week or Ten Days after my Nephew Jno Vassall came to me and asked me whether I remembered any Thing about allowing Depreciation to his Father on my Bond to the Billings's which his Father settled with them, because he had found among his Father's Papers a note from the Billingss to allow his Father the Depreciation out of the Bond his Father had given them in Case I did not allow it; I told him that it was a great while ago, and that I did not recollect the Transaction, and that Mr. Billings had been with me on the same subject, and that I had told him the same, upon which he desired I would endeavour to recollect the affair, for he said, if his Father had been allowed it, he did not desire it again, but that if his Father had not recd. it, it was but just they should allow it, Upon which I promised him I would endeavour to recollect the settlement of the affair and which accordingly I endeavoured to do, when after a good while considering & recollecting several Circumstances, it brought the whole Transaction to my mind, which is as follows: my Brother John came to my House & taking out the Bond from his Pocket, says, Harry, here is your Bond to the Billingss which they have assigned over to me with Depreciation which you may allow or not, it is nothing to me, I told him I should allow no Depreciation, upon which he said he would not if he was in my Place, accordingly I took a Receipt of him in full on the Back of the Bond and allowed him in the settlement for the amount of the Bond with its Interest as so much recd. in part pay for the Purchase he had made of me without allowing Depreciation then or since.

HENRY VASSALL

Cambridge March 24th, 1768.

Middlesex ss: March 24th, 1768.

Henry Vassall Esqr, subscriber to the above & foregoing Deposition being carefully examined & cautioned to testify the whole Truth made oath to the Truth of the same, he the said Henry is under such bodily Infirmities & sickness as render him incapable of travelling & appearing in Person at the Inferior Court of Common Pleas now holden at Charlestown in & for the County of Middlesex at which Court there is a Cause depending—John Vassall Esqr. Plt. Richard Billings Deft, & in which Cause said Deposition was taken to be used.

The proceeds of the Jamaica sale did not long suffice for his needs, and in 1748 we find him mortgaging his Cambridge property as security on a loan of £779 from James Pitts, a rich Boston merchant, whom we shall hear more of.<sup>1</sup> In 1752 he recovered by due process of law<sup>2</sup> some £90 sterling on a note given in 1746 by his brother John, now deceased, probably in connection with the Jamaica transactions.

By what devices he tided over the deficits of the next few years we have little information,<sup>3</sup> but it is probable that his wife's property formed the chief source of collateral, especially her undivided half of the "Popeshead" plantation at Antigua. The possibilities in that direction having apparently become exhausted by 1764, he was reduced to the necessity of borrowing some £430 from his daughter, who had just emerged from her minority into the convenient ownership of a small separate estate.<sup>4</sup> The cash lasted him scarcely a month, and he became more deeply involved than ever. His creditors were pressing him hard and seemed about to take possession of Mrs. Vassall's equities remaining in the

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 48/81. For Pitts's next entry in the drama, see page 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Vassall v. Bill et al. exors.*, "Inferior Court" files, Clerk's Office, East Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> The accounts for 1757 and 1758 mention numerous "notes of hand" for various amounts, as well as the payment of a "Bond to John Gore for £112.19.8 L.M." and of semi-annual interest of £132 (old tenor) on "my Bond to Mrs. Henderson."

<sup>4</sup> The sum was secured only by his personal bond, dated December 10, 1764. Soon after Elizabeth's marriage her husband insisted on something more substantial, whereupon the Colonel blandly executed still another mortgage on the homestead February 20, 1769—his last recorded act and a thoroughly characteristic one. Middlesex Deeds, 68/588.

Antigua lands. In this crisis he consulted his fidus Achates, John Rowe, one of Boston's leading merchants, who has given a vivid picture of the gravity of the situation — the wife's anxiety, the family councils, the calling-in of friends among eminent lawyers and men of affairs:

1765, Jan. 8th. Mrs. Vassall came from Cambridge on Certain Business and dind with Mrs. Rowe.

22nd. Colo Henry Vassall & Lady came to town today about Business.

Feb. 14th. Went afternoon to W<sup>m</sup> Vassals Esqr and talkd over his Brother Henrys Affairs.

16th. dind at Colo Henry Vassall with Mr W<sup>m</sup> Vassall & Chris: Minot Mrs Vassall & Mrs Cutler

18th. Mr W<sup>m</sup> Vassall Colo<sup>n</sup>l Henry Vassall Mr Banister Mr Jnman Chris Minot & Colo Thos Oliver dind with Mrs. Rowe & Me after dinner we Consulted ab<sup>o</sup> the Settlement of Colo Henry Vassalls affairs and after a long debate agreed on a plan of Settlement

22nd H Vassall came to town

28th. dind at Mr W<sup>m</sup> Vassalls with him & Wife Mrs Symes Miss Christian & Miss Sally Vassalls Henry Vassal Esqr & Lady Major John Vassall Colo. Oliver Colo Jerry Gridley Christo Minot This Afternoon Mr Henry Vassall & Wife executed the Deeds for the Farm & Negroes at Antigua

March 23d. Henry Vassall Esqr came after dinner and settled with me<sup>1</sup>

These "deeds" took the shape of a formal partition of the Antigua property owned in common with Isaac Royall, whose sister's half, euphoniously described as "charged with certain sums to Lane & Co.," was now set off to her by definite bounds. This moiety was then conveyed to trustees,<sup>2</sup> one of whom seems to have been the obliging little Thomas Oliver, the Colonel's neighbor both at Popeshead and at Cambridge. The terms of the trust apparently<sup>3</sup> provided that the income from the planta-

<sup>1</sup> MS. of Diary at Mass. Hist. Society. For the discovery of the above entries, and of other original sources, I must thank my friend, Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University.

<sup>2</sup> Antigua Records, Lib. W, vol. 5, fol. 222, and Lib. O, vol. 7, fol. 87. For the abstracts of these records I am indebted to the generous assistance of Vere L. Oliver, Esq., of Sunninghill, Berks., editor of *Caribbcana*.

<sup>3</sup> See page 60.

tion should be used towards paying off the encumbrances with which it was so heavily burdened. In any case it is plain that practically nothing was added thereby to the Vassall till, for in a few months, after a final despairing trip to the islands,<sup>1</sup> the much harassed Henry was obliged to sell his thirty acres across Charles River (already mortgaged to Pitts) to Ebenezer Bradish, the college glazier, for £506.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, by some financial sleight-of-hand that again testifies to his business adroitness, he managed to mortgage once more his long-suffering homestead for £225, this time to his boon companion Trollet, whom the cards had perhaps favored.<sup>3</sup> This, however, was only an accommodation between friends. His general credit was now as dissipated as his habits, and towards the end his wife had to negotiate what small loans she could secure on her own account.<sup>4</sup> During his last years, too, it is plain

<sup>1</sup> See page 27.

<sup>2</sup> October, 1765. Middlesex Deeds, 65/146. It is a significant fact that the next year Henry Vassall's name, although it heads the list of Christ Church parishioners made out by the *locum tenens*, Rev. Mr. Agar, is not among those marked by that ingenuous divine as "very rich"—*videlicet*: John Borland, William Vassall, John Apthorp, Ralph Inman, John Vassall, Thomas Oliver and Isaac Royall. (Original Letter-Book, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.)

<sup>3</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 67/205.

<sup>4</sup> In 1767 and 1768, for example, she made a series of notes at regular intervals to her old friend Elizabeth Hughes, each for £26.13.4, perhaps to meet the interest on some other indebtedness. On these she was sued almost thirty years later! (No. 106852, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.) Another note of the same series, with interest endorsed up to July 20, 1769, is filed, apparently by mistake, with a collection of documents relating to William Vassall's lands in Pownalboro, 1776 *et seq.* Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, MSS. 026.2 "Vassall Papers."

"Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes of Cambridge, singlewoman," is another of the shadowy figures that flit through the Vassall and Royall records. Her family were neighbors of the Royalls at "Popeshead." One of them, Captain Richard, migrated to Boston, where in 1713 he married Sarah Reed; and Elizabeth, born 1719, was their child. Either in Antigua or at Boston she grew very friendly with the Royalls, for in 1746 old Madame Royall left her by will £300 "as a token of my love." Afterward she became either an inmate or a constant visitor at the Vassalls, and appears in the Colonel's accounts as receiving many small sums for "sundrys" and the like. Through the death of her parents she came into some property in Boston, and hence was able to alleviate the financial distresses of Mrs. Vassall. She died in 1771, leaving a number of the latter's unpaid notes in her inventory. Her gravestone is in the Copp's Hill ground. See Oliver, *History of Antigua*, ii, 88. Putnam, *Licut. Joshua Heves*, 417. Suffolk Probate, 14929.

that the greater part of his personal property, horses, slaves, &c., was turned into sorely needed cash. Under such notorious circumstances, therefore, it could have caused little surprise among the Cambridge gossips to learn after his death that he had not attempted to dispose of his shrunken and heavily hypothecated estate by will, and that the said estate (valued at only £1000 for the realty and £705 for the personality<sup>1</sup>) was shortly declared insolvent.

Considering the ample evidences of Henry Vassall's business ability, and the plump fortunes amassed by his brothers, and even allowing generously for the undoubted expense<sup>2</sup> of keeping up an establishment such as he delighted in, we must admit that it is difficult to explain where all his money went to, unless in some such manner as hinted above. Yet let us not frown too heavily on the failings of a Colonial gentleman of active spirit and ample leisure, who wrote *Esquire* after his name in a day when that suffix had a definite connotation. He had been born and bred amid the unexacting moral standards of a clime where the spirit of pleasure had permeated his very marrow. Transplanted to a drier and more searching ethical atmosphere, his early inoculation (so to say) kept him immune from the scorching breath of the superheated New England conscience. Though he doubtless listened decorously enough to the fulminations of the orthodox ministry around him, in his own heart he felt free

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A. In 1770, evidently before the Widow Vassall had made much further reduction in the estate, she was taxed 14/4 for the realty and 8/9 for the personality. Her fallen fortunes may be inferred from a comparison of the taxes paid by the other members of her social set (Cambridge Tax List, 1770. Mass. Archives, 130/430):

Mr. & Mrs. Borland	£1.9.8 real	£6.16.11 personal
William Brattle	1.0.6	3.17.7
Ralph Inman	1.14.5	13.1
Joseph Lee	13.4	2.17.9
Richard Lechmere	19.3	2.9.6
Thomas Oliver	1.16.5	1.3.0
David Phips	1.5.8	15.5
George Ruggles	1.5.8	3.6
Jonathan Sewall	11.8	13.6
John Vassall	2.12.7	14.2

<sup>2</sup> The account book shows that in the years 1757 and 1758 his outlays for petty cash were about £9000 "old tenor," or £1200 lawful money (£900 sterling), per annum.

to follow the example of the hard-riding, hard-drinking parsons of the good old school in "the established church." And if he shared their weaknesses, he also shared their bluff and open-handed virtues.

For, paradoxical as it may appear, Henry Vassall, like his father before him, was a strong and generous supporter of religion. As such he is honorably remembered to-day, when his imperfections have been long forgotten, like many a character more completely canonized. The Church of England, his family creed, naturally came first in his interests. To its representatives his latch-string was always out and his purse-strings always loose. At the age of only twenty-five he gave forty pounds towards the rebuilding of King's Chapel,<sup>1</sup> and soon after the beautiful new edifice was finished he bought a pew. In maturer years he was elected a vestryman.<sup>2</sup> The fragment of his accounts that we possess gives an idea of his steady assistance to that parish:

1756 Apr. 26th. pd Capt. Forbes for my pew at ye Chapple £20.5
Aug. 20 pd Craddock my Subscription to Dipper [the organist] £10.10
1758 Mar. 20th. tax of pew at Chapple £18.18
1759 Apr. 9th. pd tax & subscription to Chapple £42

Trinity Church, too, had reason to be grateful for his aid. He was, for example, one of the largest contributors to its first organ, and on Christmas Day, 1758, increased its collection by some twenty pounds.

All this time he was paying his regular "ministerial taxes" in Cambridge and Abraham Hasey's as well. More than that, he was displaying an admirably liberal spirit by subscribing handsomely to the new "meeting house" that Dr. Appleton was erecting there:

1756, Nov. 19th. pd Sam'l Whittemore one third of my subscription to ye meeting house £50
1757, Sept. 11th. S. Whittemore being in full of my Subscription to the meeting house in Cambridge £100

<sup>1</sup> Adding the rather unusual but highly business-like proviso, — "One half to be paid when begun."

<sup>2</sup> Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, ii, *passim*.

Therein also he took a pew, one of the best, "between Lt. Col. David Phipp's pew on the right and Rev. Mr. President Holyoke's on the left."<sup>1</sup>

Most memorable of all, he was the leader of the movement in 1759 for establishing Christ Church in Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> He headed the petition to enlist the aid of the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; he subscribed £80 to the building fund; he cajoled £15 more out of the reprehensible Trollet and actually persuaded him to take a pew; he was chairman of the building committee;<sup>3</sup> he bought a pew (No. 3) in the middle aisle, and he served as a vestryman,<sup>4</sup> in either first or second place on the list, continuously from the organization of the parish till the day of his death. Perhaps in recognition of his services he was given the privilege of building the only tomb beneath the church.<sup>5</sup>

In that tomb he was duly laid, with characteristic elegance,

<sup>1</sup> See plan of pews in Paige, 293. He sold it to Harvard College in 1761, after Christ Church had been opened. Middlesex Deeds, 58/502.

<sup>2</sup> "Several branches of our Braintree family of Vassalls had removed and planted themselves in the very front of the university, and they must have an Episcopal church." J. Adams to Morse, Quincy, December 2, 1815. *Works of John Adams*, x, 187.

<sup>3</sup> "Voted that Colo Henry Vassall make some enquiries, and take such measures as he shall think proper, about procuring Stone and Lime for building the Church." Records, October 3, 1759.

<sup>4</sup> Though for some unexplained reason never as a warden, a position frequently occupied by his nephew John, and indeed by nearly all the prominent Cambridge Tories in turn.

<sup>5</sup> The parish records are silent on the subject, but it seems probable that, sensible of his approaching dissolution, he caused his last resting place to be constructed during the progress of his final malady.

The tomb is a brick vault, 9 by 10 feet in area, sunk in the gravel of the cellar floor. Its slightly arched top was originally almost flush with the surface, but owing to a recent lowering of the grade, now protrudes for about a foot. Its main axis is east and west, or transverse to that of the church building. The door, at the west end, was originally reached by a flight of stone steps, now removed and filled in. Against the upper part of the bricked-up entrance arch, and projecting above ground, has been erected a slate slab inscribed HENRY VASSELL. The structure is now almost in the middle of the cellar, but before the lengthening of the church it was much nearer the chancel — probably directly below the pew of its owner, who had one of the best seats in the edifice, although the exact location is conjectural to-day. At least the tomb is not centred on the main axis of the church, but is pushed a little to the west, so as to bring it, not under the middle aisle, but under a pew on the right-hand side thereof.

For the interments in the Vassall tomb see note, page 78.

when a lingering illness had brought his gay life to a close — after that fitful fever sleeping well amid the old Cambridge surroundings that he loved, happy in escaping the fast-approaching tribulations which were to allot scattered and distant graves to his family and friends who kept allegiance to the King's most excellent majesty, his crown and dignity. The Boston papers for Monday, March 20, 1769, contained the following item:

On Friday last Col. HENRY VASSALL departed this Life in the 48th Year of Age, at his Seat in *Cambridge*. We hear that he will be interr'd if the Weather permits, on *Wednesday* next, and that the Funeral will go precisely at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

The service took place as announced, a typical March gale being only the weather to be expected. Thanks to trusty John Rowe, we actually have the scene before us — unique of its kind in the annals of Christ Church:

1769, March 22. Wed. Very Cold Blows hard N.West. Dined at Mr. Inman at Cambridge with him, Mr. Cromwell, Lady Frankland,<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Harding, Miss Molly Wethered, Mrs. Rowe & George Inman. In the afternoon I went to the Funerall of Henry Vassall Esq. I was a pall-holder, together with Gen. Brattle, Col. Phipps, Jos. Lee Esq., Rich<sup>d</sup> Lechmere Esq. & Robert Temple Esq. It was a very handsome Funerall & a great number of people & carriages.

### III

The Widow Penelope after these elaborate obsequies continued, as best she could, to occupy the stripped and mortgaged homestead. We have a sight of her entertaining a mighty genteel company, "drinking tea and coffee," on the occasion of the christening of her namesake — her daughter's baby, Penelope Russell.<sup>3</sup> She dutifully began the attempt to pay off her hus-

<sup>1</sup> *Boston Post Boy & Advertiser*. Similar notices are in each of the other papers, except that the *Boston Evening Post* adds "after a lingering Illness." We have seen (page 38) that he was too sick to go to Charlestown just a year before. The register of Christ Church gives his death on the 17th, but no mention of his burial.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Frankland with her son Henry Cromwell had returned to Boston and Hopkinton in June of the previous year, after the death of her husband at Bath. They were particular friends of the Innmans, and intimate with the whole Cambridge coterie. A touch of romance is added to Henry Vassall's funeral by the presence of "the beautiful Agnes Surriage."

<sup>3</sup> Rowe, *Diary*, April 9, 1769. Cf. Christ Church register and Harris, *The*



## Penelope Papall

Engraved for The Cambridge Historical Society  
from an original portrait in the possession of  
Richard Henry Tamm



band's debts, probably with the aid of the Royalls and the Russells.<sup>1</sup> To raise funds she evidently strained her slender resources to the utmost, as is shown in the pitiful appraisal of her property remaining in 1778.<sup>2</sup> But the earnest efforts of a reduced gentlewoman to satisfy her vicarious creditors gave her little popular sympathy, so long as she echoed the sentiments and followed the fortunes of that unhappily prominent Cambridge faction that persisted in its loyalty to King George.

Herein lay her undoing. Penelope Vassall's temperament was of the type that copies rather than originates. From her family characteristics, her early environment, and her later history we picture her as lacking in nearly all the sturdier New England virtues. The scanty traces she has left on the narrative of her generation are as pale as if recorded with disappearing ink. She seems to have been too frail to rear the large family that was then customary. Her portrait, painted in her younger days, shows her as small and delicate, with little individuality. The few remaining specimens of her handwriting are unformed and crude to the point of childishness. In a crisis she possessed neither the firmness for independent action that might have carried the day, nor the prudent self-effacement that might have enabled her, along with such ultra-moderates as her neighbor, Judge Lee, to lie by while the storm passed overhead.

The latter course she could have followed with comparative ease. There is no record that either she or her husband had ever adopted an attitude that gave grounds for any active hostility from the "sons of liberty." He had held no royal offices, signed no "loyal addresses," or taken other steps that would have rendered his memory obnoxious. He had not been a member of that inner ring of Tories upon whom the full weight of revolutionary wrath

*Vassalls of New England*, 22. Mr. and Mrs. Rowe "stood Sponsors." In 1757 Mrs. Vassall had been a "surety" along with Gov. Benning Wentworth and Charles Paxton at the baptism of young Benning at King's Chapel, Boston. (*Wentworth Genealogy*, i, 534.) That seems to be almost the only mark she has left on the records of her time, up to her husband's death. It suggests at least the society in which she moved.

<sup>1</sup> Trollet assigned his mortgage to her in 1770 for £266.13.4. (Middlesex Deeds, 71/18.) In June of 1773 she got £490 ready money from George Minot, who then paid off a mortgage of which she had become assignee. (Suffolk Deeds, 121/129, margin.)

<sup>2</sup> See page 55 and Appendix B. For the sale of the slaves see page 68.

descended. On the contrary he was plainly far from unpopular with his townsmen.<sup>1</sup> Even the motto on his crest chimed closely with their underlying thought in the earlier days of the struggle — “Often for King, for Country always.”<sup>2</sup> His remaining property was, alas, scarcely enough to excite a beggar’s cupidity. And since he had been dead for nearly six years before affairs reached the climax, it is conceivable that his spouse, had she remained quietly on the homestead, might well have avoided serious molestation.

Had she realized it, indeed, nothing would have served her so well as sticking to the ship. In those days of fantastic mistrust, steadfastness when surrounded by the insurgents seemed to prove one’s sympathy with their cause; flight showed one’s adherence to the established order. The paradox was widely accepted as a test by both sides. Thus, the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel based his conviction of one of its missionaries for treachery on the theory that “if Mr. Bass had been truly loyal, I can’t see how it was possible for him to stay at Newburyport, a place so much in favor of the other part.”<sup>3</sup> Per contra, even the estimable “Ebenezer Bradish, Jun. Esq.,” who happened to “withdraw himself from Cambridge and retire to Boston on the day of the late unhappy commencement of hostilities,” so “increased the publick suspicions against him, whereby he is rendered more odious and disagreeable to his countrymen,” that he required an imposing certificate from a number of leading patriots to prevent the impression that he was “a person unfriendly to the just rights and liberties of his Country.”<sup>4</sup> But as for Penelope Vassall, with the fatal facility for imitation that sometimes marks the feminine mind, she did as her fashionable friends and neighbors did, and during the memo-

<sup>1</sup> A curious confirmation of his amicable relations with his neighbors is to be found in the almost total absence of his name from the court records of his time, while his brothers John and William and his nephew John figure in some rather famous suits. (Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 131, etc.) It will be noticed, too, that none of his numerous mortgagees took advantage of their foreclosure rights as long as his widow continued to occupy the premises, but seem to have accorded her every consideration.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacpe pro rege, semper pro republica.* The radicalism of the sentiment so grated upon the loyalty of his nephew, John Vassall, that he abandoned its use altogether.

<sup>3</sup> Bartlett, *Frontier Missionary*, 313.

<sup>4</sup> Force, *American Archives, 4th Series*, ii, 484. May 3, 1775.

rable winter of 1774-75<sup>1</sup> followed them into Boston to seek the protection of Thomas Gage. From that moment the die was cast.

By the date of the Battle of Lexington her son-in-law, Dr. Russell, correctly diagnosing certain feverish symptoms in the body politic, was discreetly embarked for Martinico, probably with his wife and family, which now numbered several daughters.<sup>2</sup> (Henry Vassall had neither sons nor grandsons.) The Widow seems to have lingered to save what she could from the old home; for after it was seized by the provincials, her "packages" of personal belongings, which Heaven knows must have been attenuated enough,<sup>3</sup> were graciously allowed to "pass into Boston or elsewhere."<sup>4</sup> A quaint exception was made of her medicine chest, long a carefully cherished family treasure.<sup>5</sup> It was too valuable to be lost to the Continental medical corps. For some time, indeed, it was one of the only two supply boxes they possessed.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The precise date is difficult to determine. She would naturally follow the movements of her nephew, John Vassall, across the road. Foote says the latter was driven out of town by a mob early in 1775 (*Annals of King's Chapel*, ii, 315), but this seems to lack confirmation. The certificate of the Cambridge selectmen who confiscated his property states that he "went to our Enemies in April 1775," but the word "April" is struck through with the pen. (Middlesex Probate, 23340, O.S.) Mrs. Vassall's brother, Isaac Royall, did not definitely retire from his Medford mansion until April 16. (Suffolk Probate, 85/531.) It is unquestionably picturesque to refer to the "flight" of the Tories into Boston, but "straggle" is a more accurate term.

<sup>2</sup> Harris, *Vassalls of New England*, 21.

<sup>3</sup> A far richer and more influential personage, Lady Frankland, on retiring from Hopkinton, was allowed to take only "6 trunks, 1 chest, 3 beds and bedding, 6 wethers, 2 pigs, 1 small keg of pickled tongues, some hay, 3 bags of corn and such other goods as she thinks proper." The elastic interpretation placed upon the final clause, and the alarming consequences, provide both entertainment and instruction for the reader of the *American Archives*.

<sup>4</sup> *Committee of Safety Journals*, May 13, 1775. In the first confusion over the disposition of the Loyalists' abandoned property, we find "Mr. David Sanger directed to fill the widow Vassall's barns with hay," on July 4, and a couple of days later Mr. Seth Brown ordered "to clear the widow Vassall's barns for the reception of hay and horses for the colony service," etc. (*Idem*, 586, 587.) The house itself was by this time in active use as medical headquarters. (See page 53.)

<sup>5</sup> "Jan. 1, 1757. pd. mending key Medecine Chest, &c. £1:6." (Account book, *ubi supra*.) This private drug-store, for it appears to have been no less, affords, like the family fire-engine, another instance of the unusual elaboration of the household arrangements. Colonel Vassall was evidently prepared to cope with inflammatory conditions of every description. See also p. 81, middle.

<sup>6</sup> The other was in Roxbury. See report of committee, June 12, 1775. *Journals of Provincial Congress*, 323.

With her pathetic scraps of salvage, therefore, our Penelope turned toward her family estates in Antigua.<sup>1</sup> There is a quite believable story that in the haste and bewilderment of her start she had to take along a certain Miss Moody, related to the Pepperells of Kittery, a damsel who happened to be staying with her and who could find no opportunity of getting home again. In the West Indies, according to the tradition, while waiting a chance to return, this unintentional refugee was courted, married, and finally settled down for life.<sup>2</sup>

But to reach Antigua was now no easy matter. Dr. Russell must have sailed on one of the last ships that left Boston for the Caribbean, and by the time that his mother-in-law had decided on any definite course of action the only port where she could hope to embark was Salem — probably the “elsewhere” specifically in mind when her property pass was issued to her. Thither her brother had already betaken himself with the same object, and thither she seems to have followed him. Both were doomed to disappointment. Not a passage to the southward could be procured. In this dilemma Isaac Royall determined “with great reluctance” to push on to Halifax and thence to England, giving the abject excuse that “my health and business require it.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, iii, 111. Harris, *Vassalls of New England*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cambridge of 1776*, 100. The tale is substantiated to the extent that the first William Pepperell's granddaughter, Mary Jackson, born 1713, married a man named Moody. (Howard, *Pepperells in America*, 17.) The name was common in the Pepperell neighborhood, at Kittery, York, etc. It is also found, however, in the records of Montserrat. The man in question, for example, may have been George Moody, born there in 1726. (*Caribbeaniana*, i, 43.) If so, the young lady would naturally have found herself very much at home in the West Indies. It was also natural that she should put herself under the protection of Madame Vassall, for the latter's niece, Elizabeth Royall, had married “Young Sir William” Pepperell when he assumed his grandfather's title in 1767. As the baronet and his wife sailed for England in 1775, it is quite understandable that a relative who really wished to go to the islands should have kept with Mrs. Vassall.

For the following interesting variant on the tradition I am indebted to Henry Vassall's great-great-grand-nephew, John Vassall Calder, Esq., who still occupies a part of the Jamaica property at Worthy Park: “As you are aware, at the time of the Revolution the Vassalls had to flee from Boston, and it is said they left a girl with her nurse who was never heard of. About fifty years ago my Grandmother got a letter from a woman who claimed relationship as being the descendant of the lost girl; she never answered the letter.”

<sup>3</sup> Brooks, *History of Medford*, 147. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, ii, 311.

From a step so bold and unaccustomed Penelope Vassall recoiled. One more chance remained for carrying out her original plan. Bidding her brother (as it proved) a last farewell, she joined one of the parties of Tories who in the panic after the first blood-letting of the war hurried off to Nantucket, on the well-founded assumption that that shrewdly self-centred and ultra-pacific Quaker community would prove a sort of neutral territory or safety-zone. Among these Loyalists was Mrs. Mary Holyoke of Salem, whose connections in Cambridge had often brought her to that village. Debarking at the island on April 29th, she records in her diary and letters the numerous acquaintances that flocked thither for weeks afterwards. On May 21st she notes, — “Mrs. Vassal & Fitch<sup>1</sup> Family arrived.” And on June 2nd, — “Drank tea [!] yesterday at old Friend Husseys with Friend Vassel.”<sup>2</sup>

No further mention of Mrs. Vassall at Nantucket occurs, and it is to be supposed that among the extensive shipping of that seafaring population<sup>3</sup> she soon found opportunity to fulfil her intention of sailing for Antigua. Her destination once reached, however, proved but a gloomy haven of refuge. Her own patrimony at “Popeshead,” by transactions already narrated,<sup>4</sup> was no longer at her disposal, and she not improbably sheltered herself on the adjacent plantation of her brother, where she was joined by the Russells. But conditions on the island were now very different from those of her girlhood there. Her elegant, affluent friends were gone. Times were bad. The sugar market had been paralyzed by the war. The cost of the simplest commodities had quadrupled.<sup>5</sup> The estates were neglected. Many were abandoned altogether and overrun by the peculiar rank grass that is the bane of Antiguan agriculture. The seasons, too,

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Fitch, the Boston lawyer, was a noted Tory, proscribed in 1778. Like most of the other Nantucket refugees, he soon plucked up courage and returned to the mainland. He stayed out the Siege of Boston, and at the Evacuation went to Halifax with a family of seven.

<sup>2</sup> Dow, *The Holyoke Diaries*, 87 and 88, n. Some of the Nantucket Husseys owned lands in Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> The widespread commercial interests of Nantucket at this period made it almost as important a point of departure for travellers as is New York City to-day. During the Revolution the West India trade was continued pertinaciously, its danger being more than compensated by its profit.

<sup>4</sup> See page 39.

<sup>5</sup> Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies*, ii, 425.

were unpropitious; a series of disastrous droughts and terrific hurricanes added to the ruin. One after another the planters went down in financial wreck.<sup>1</sup> Most of the non-resident owners, now a thousand leagues overseas, could no longer make their trips of inspection; and their local agents, always sufficiently unscrupulous, were busily feathering their own nests with what remained. Matters went from bad to worse. In 1778 there was no crop whatever, the drought having destroyed all the cane.<sup>2</sup> In 1779 "every part of the surface of the ground became parched up, and all the ponds were dry. The importation of water was altogether insufficient to supply the demand. The stock and negroes perished in the greatest agony; and a malignant fever at the same time threatened total destruction to all."<sup>3</sup> In 1780–81 the climax of Mrs. Vassall's own misfortunes came with the deaths of her son-in-law, Dr. Russell, her last male protector, and her pusillanimous brother, Isaac Royall, who, ignoring his sister in his will, devised his plantation to his own child, Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Russell, now thrown with her daughters upon her mother's hands, thus definitively empty, was like her parent the guileless victim of her own countrymen's revengeful greed. Her

<sup>1</sup> A visitor in 1787 wrote: "This country is poor, most of the landholders being impoverished from a series of bad crops previous to the last three years. In fact, the greater part of the estates in this island are in trust, or under mortgage to the merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol." Luffman, *Brief Account of the Island of Antigua*, 49.

In Jamaica, from 1772 to 1791, more than one-third of the planters passed through bankruptcy, and a considerable proportion of the plantations was given up. (See the sympathetic and comprehensive account by Phillips, "A Jamaica Slave Plantation," *American Hist. Review*, xix, 543.) John Vassall stated that he "had £3,000 a year coming in from his Jamaica Estate before the Hurricane"—a particularly calamitous visitation occurred in 1780—and "His Estate having suffered considerably by the Hurricane, is the Cause of it's not having produced him anything since 1781," so that "he has laid down his Coach & given up his House [at Clapham] & lives at Bristol." (1783–84.) American Loyalists Transcripts, iv, 388 and vii, 180. New York Public Library.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards, *History of the West Indies*, (1793) i, 447.

<sup>3</sup> Southey, *Chronological Hist. W. I.*, ii, 459.

<sup>4</sup> Suffolk Probate, 85/531. She had married Sir William Pepperell (Sparhawk), who is accordingly described later as "owner of Royalls, Antigua." (Oliver, *History of Antigua*, iii, 56.) The place was evidently in no condition to attract him as a residence, for he soon sold it to Thomas Oliver (cf. p. 60, n) and continued to live in England till his death in 1816. It may be added that the desolated state of the West Indies, and the serious interruption of communication with them, account for the appearance in England of many Loyalists who might have been expected to take refuge on their own insular possessions.

husband's property at home had been confiscated, and he himself forbidden to return.<sup>1</sup> Mother, daughter, and granddaughters formed a sad illustration of the familiar axiom that the Loyalists seemed to leave naught behind them but homeless widows and unprovided orphans,—whose sufferings tempt us to go a step beyond the poet's line and add that even when it is not fated that men must work, still women must weep.

It was at about this time that poor Penelope, lonely and bereft, gathered her little flock about her and, giving a last good-bye to her childhood's home, returned with a sort of childish hopefulness to the scene of her married life. Yet how changed that scene! Marius among the ruins of Carthage was a thing of joy and gladness compared to a Loyalist in Cambridge after the Revolution. The college, it is true, with the placid persistence of an institution whose thoughts were not of this world, still calmly ground out, much as of yore, its annual grist of ministers. But the once thriving village, famed for its beauty, with its common "like a bowling green," was almost unrecognizable. Spared, to be sure, from the actual ravages of the enemy that had desolated Portland, New Haven, and others of its ilk, it yet had endured the almost equally severe handling of a year's occupation by an ill-disciplined militia<sup>2</sup> and the hard usage of another year as a prison camp. Dwellings had been maltreated, fences torn away, tillage laid waste, timber and shade trees felled, roads ruined, and farms "thrown open, cut up and broken to pieces."<sup>3</sup> "Oh!" wrote a visitor to the famous Inman place after the Siege of Boston, "that imagination could replace the wood lot, the willows round the pond, the locust trees that so delightfully ornamented and shaded the roads leading to this farm . . . but in vain to wish it,—every beauty of art or nature, every elegance which it cost years of care and toil in bringing to perfection, is laid low. It looks like an unfrequented desert, and this farm

<sup>1</sup> "Charles Russell of Lincoln, physician," was included in the Proscription Act of October 16, 1778. *Mass. Province Laws*, v, 914.

<sup>2</sup> One excuse offered for the vile accommodations given the Convention Troops a year and a half afterward was "the late Devastation and Destruction of the Neighbourhood." Burgoyne to Laurens, Cambridge, February 11, 1778. Colonial Office Class 5, vol. 95, p. 385. Public Record Office, London.

<sup>3</sup> Dana to Heath, York Town, December 8, 1777. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 7th Series, iv, pt. ii, 191.

is an epitome of all Cambridge, [once] the loveliest village in America."<sup>1</sup> Dilapidated store-sheds,<sup>2</sup> with the ragged cellar-holes and ditches of vanished encampments, disfigured the centre of the town; gaunt heaps of dismantled earthworks encumbered the approaches; and ramshackle barracks, already falling to decay, rattled and swayed in the winds that swept the surrounding hilltops. The very tombs of the dead in the town burying ground had been despoiled of their leaden inscription-panels. The living population was miserably reduced in every sense of the word. Of the natives, many had moved away,<sup>3</sup> others had entered the army, and some had fallen on the field of battle. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist*, 246. (April 17, 1776.) General Greene wrote, Dec. 31, 1775: "We have suffered prodigiously for want of wood. . . . notwithstanding we have burnt up all the fences and cut down all the trees for a mile round the camp." An account of the insurgents in a London paper observes, — "They have burnt all the fruit-trees and those planted for ornament in the environs of Cambridge." Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 276 and n.

<sup>2</sup> "The town of Cambridge is about six miles from Boston, and was the country residence of the gentry of that city; there are a number of fine houses in it going to decay, belonging to the Loyalists. The town must have been extremely pleasant, but its beauty is much defaced, being now only an arsenal for military stores." (Letter of November 30, 1777. Anburey, *Travels through America*, ii, 67.) For the curious continuance of Cambridge as a military depot up to recent times, see the article by A. M. Howe, "The Arsenal and the Guns on the Common," *Cambridge Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, vi, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Overshadowed by the more dramatic departure of the Tories, the much larger exodus of the natives from Cambridge in 1775-76 has escaped general attention. With the very first hostilities the women and children all left town (Letter of Mrs. Inman, Cambridge, April 22, 1775. *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist*, 184), followed almost immediately by the entire personnel of Harvard College, including all the transient and many of the hitherto permanent elements of the population. Substantial citizens of two opposite classes also disappeared, the militarists enlisting in the army and the pacifists seeking a less warlike environment. Among them were many landholders. The tax list for 1777 (preserved in Mass. Archives, 322/123) gives 191 taxpayers in the village itself, 124 in Menotomy, 87 "south of Charles River," and 96 "non-residents." The names are all indigenous: no account is taken of Loyalist absentees or their confiscated estates. That year's total of 498 polls continued to decrease, until in 1781 there were but 417 (Mass. Archives, 161/369); and even as late as 1822 the number of voters was only 475 (Paige, 448).

A striking effect of this exodus is found in a comparison of the census figures for 1765 and 1776. (Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 452.) During that interval most Massachusetts towns of 1500 population had increased to 1900-odd. In Cambridge this normal increase was completely wiped out by the begira of the final two years, so that the net gain in eleven years was only about a dozen persons.

the old aristocracy, the Philipses and the Innmans, the Ruggleses and the Borlands, the Lechneres and the Olivers, were gone, never to return. The local trades and industries that once supplied their numerous minor wants were well-nigh extinguished. The plentiful golden sovereigns that used to jingle in many a townsman's pocket had been replaced by infrequent seraps of dirty and almost valueless paper. The beautiful little church that Henry Vassall had practically founded was desecrated and closed; its jovial English parson was a penniless paralytic, dying by inches at Bath in the old country. Bitterest sight of all was the former homestead, fast deteriorating in heedless plebeian hands, after a series of vicissitudes so rapid, varied, and bizarre that a stouter heart than the Widow's might well have stood aghast at their recital.

Penelope Vassall's abandonment of the property, indeed, may be said to have been the first episode of a chapter in which the history of the estate, long mounting in interest and brilliancy like the glittering ascent of a rocket, suddenly "broke" in a cluster of spectacular incidents that seem by contrast to throw into deeper shadow its subsequent descent to the commonplace dinginess of to-day. The first and most harrowing metamorphosis had begun under her very eyes, when the home that had sheltered her for thirty-three years was seized by the revolutionists for their military hospital. That term at its best in the eighteenth century connoted something incomprehensible to the reader of the twentieth, but in the conditions at Cambridge in the spring of 1775 it implied a scene of confusion, misery, and horror that at first appeared little better than a shambles.<sup>1</sup> Without the benefits either of reasonable foresight or of previous experience, without time for preparation, without sufficient accommodations, without system, without a regular staff, without medicines, instruments, or appliances, without (of course) anaesthetics — save rum — this last refuge for the sick and dying might have seemed about to take a place in medical annals almost on a level with Libby Prison or the Black Hole of Calcutta. But New England physicians

<sup>1</sup> "We see Doct. Turner perform the office of surgery (or rather of butchery) on one Jones of Capt. Ripley's Company, who had a great mortification sore on his side. After we had seen the aforesaid operation with great pity to the patient we came home." *Diary of Jabez Fitch, Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, Second Series*, ix, 88.

have never lacked courage and resource. Their own vigorous efforts were soon seconded by the best medical talent from the other colonies and directed by the administrative genius of Washington. Affairs took on a new complexion, the principal difficulties of the situation were gradually overcome, and before the end of the Siege of Boston the Vassall house had attained well-merited historic fame as the original headquarters of the Continental medical department.<sup>1</sup>

When finally abandoned by the military authorities the Widow Vassall's property, as she subsequently learned, had been promptly seized by the civil, as coming under the legislative resolve just passed which confiscated the estates of persons who were "Ennemical to the Colony and have fled to Boston or elsewhere for Protection."<sup>2</sup> Unable to make a better disposition of it, the committee leased it for £15 a year to "Capt. Adams of Charlestown."<sup>3</sup> In him we probably discern Nathan Adams, veteran of the French War, later carpenter and innkeeper by turns, whose own house at Charlestown had been burned during the affair at Bunker's Hill.<sup>4</sup>

In his new domicile he soon had opportunity to revive his old calling and play the host to unexpectedly distinguished guests. For on the 6th and 7th of November, 1777, Cambridge found itself invaded by the enemy in greater numbers and with more serious results than at any other period of its revolutionary history. These warriors, to be sure, bore neither arms nor malice against the town, being in short the heterogeneous horde of British and Hessians who made up the "Convention Troops" under Burgoyne,

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study of this subject see the second part of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Such was the paraphrase of the Cambridge committee in its report. (1776. Mass. Archives, 154/48.) The actual language of the resolve (April 19, 1776) referred to those who "have fled to Boston in the late time of distress to seure themselves," thus ingeniously setting up cowardice as a test of loyalty. The whole shameful history of the Confiscation Acts may be found in Goodell's invaluable compilation, *Mass. Province Laws*, v, 706 and 999. See also the illuminating commentary of Davis, *John Chandler's Estate*, ch. iii.

<sup>3</sup> 1776. Mass. Archives, 154/48. This rental was much the smallest of any of the Cambridge confiscated estates — additional evidence of the condition of the property.

<sup>4</sup> *Robert Adams History*, 12. Cf. Hunnewell, *A Century of Town Life*, 134, 156. In like manner a number of other mansions of the Cambridge Tories after confiscation were leased to various Charlestown refugees, by a kind of poetic justice.

on their way from the fatal field of Saratoga to the transports that were expected soon to embark them at Boston and return them to England, according to agreement. The Colonel's home-stead and the Captain's temporary leasehold was, not inappropriately, one of the very first edifices taken for housing the officers of the British contingent, its tenant displaying a willingness to receive them that contrasts sharply with the churlish attitude unfortunately adopted by the townspeople in general. Had they followed his example, indeed, not only would the annals of Cambridge have been spared a deep blemish, but the whole history of the Convention Troops, and thus of the later stages of the Revolution itself, might have been very different from the actual outcome.<sup>1</sup> As it befell, however, the expected speedy embarkation was postponed indefinitely, and the notorious stand taken by the American Congress as to the fulfilment of the Saratoga Convention resulted in the occupation of the house by the captives for a full year.

Not until November, 1778, were the last of the luckless troops and subordinate officers marched away from Cambridge on the succeeding stage of their phantasmal journey to freedom, and Henry Vassall's mansion bade a final farewell to the scarlet and gold of that royal uniform which he himself had been wont to don. Then it was that the old house, already headquarters-hospital, prison and barracks, sank to the lowest level of its military history and became mere loot. Tired of the farce of "preserving" and "improving" property which they never intended the owners should repossess, the Massachusetts authorities ordered a general sale of the Loyalists' remaining estates. "William How, trader," of Cambridge was the "agent" for what poor personality of Madame Vassall's could still be ferreted out by her zealous and "patriotic" fellow townsmen.<sup>2</sup> The "vendue" took place April 1, 1779, with ironical solemnity and every outward form that could give a color of legality to this final act of injustice.<sup>3</sup> Everything went, from the tattered wreck of the great

<sup>1</sup> For fuller consideration of this matter see *post*, as above.

<sup>2</sup> Mass. Archives, 154/332.

<sup>3</sup> Certificate of Selectmen, June 1, 1778; order for inventory, June 8, 1778; inventory dated June 24, 1778. (See Appendix B); commissioners sworn January 11, 1779; sale, April 1, 1779; agent's account allowed and filed Decem-

chariot to "3 beehives," from which, as from other lordlier homes, the Tory drones had long ago flown. Nearly all the useful articles having already disappeared, the bulk of the sale-catalogue was composed of the pictures, mostly put up in arbitrary lots of half-a-dozen, and knocked down to whichever of the local Bradishes, Palmers, Reads, Prentices, and Wyeths would take them. The total realized the apparently imposing sum of £275 — in paper, or "old Emission," but worth in "silver money £25."<sup>1</sup>

The realty, though it could not be treated so cavalierly, was disposed of quite as effectually. The Act of 1780, by which "absentee" estates were to be sold at auction, excepted such as were under mortgage before April 19, 1775 — of course with the understanding that the mortgagee was a good "friend of liberty." Whether by virtue of his unquestioned prominence in such a capacity, or by a technical priority of claim, the almost forgotten James Pitts, the Colonel's creditor of 1748,<sup>2</sup> now reappears upon the scene. As a matter of fact he reappears only in name, since he had died in 1776. But he had left behind as executor his enterprising and equally "patriotic" son John. As soon as the Legislature, of which the latter was a member, began to consider the above action, he evidently took steps to secure his testator's long-dormant and possibly doubtful claims to the Vassall place, cannily making hay while the sun shone in a field where there was none to say him nay.<sup>3</sup> So complete was the success of his machinations that by the time Mrs. Vassall reached Cambridge again (perhaps hastened by rumors of what had been going on in her absence) she found herself as thoroughly dispossessed as the veriest ghost.

If John Pitts taken his gentle little victim into his confidence he might have confessed that the game proved hardly worth the candle. In 1781 he complained to his brother-in-law that the old gentleman's numerous and widely scattered properties were

ber 5, 1781. (Middlesex Probate, No. 23342, O.S.) The last date seems a clue to the time of the real owner's return, actual or impending.

<sup>1</sup> In Mass. Archives, 154/257, the personality before the sale was appraised at £29. As to the pictures, see page 13.

<sup>2</sup> See page 38.

<sup>3</sup> "Jno Pitt, Esq.," a "non-resident," was taxed £5.4.6 for real estate in Cambridge in 1777. (Mass. Archives, 322/123.) The property is not specified, but there is little room for doubt on the question.

being so mercilessly stripped and at the same time so mercilessly taxed that they must be sold. The next year he wrote that the scarcity of cash and the enormous taxes were driving folks mad, but that much of his father's property had fortunately been got rid of. "We have also disposed of Vassall's place at Cambridge to Nathaniel Tracy Esq. for Eight hundred and fifty pounds, payable in one year." The price, he added, in view of the tremendous shrinkage in realty values, was considered very high — but so were the risks of collecting it from a purchaser whose interests were mainly in shipping.<sup>1</sup>

Nathaniel Tracy was in effect one of those merchant princes whose romantic fortunes and extraordinary idiosyncrasies have cast a glamour over the history of the ancient town of Newburyport.<sup>2</sup> He had a passion for acquiring fine houses. His purchases, it is said, extended along the whole Atlantic coast as far as Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> Among his Cambridge takings at this period were the three hundred acres of the famous "Ten Hills Farm," the former seat of the Temples.<sup>4</sup> He had already bought the John Vassall estate across the road, and seems to have added the homestead merely because it was adjacent and in the market. But he flew his financial kite too high. His sevencore merchantmen and cruising ships were wrecked or captured, his huge government contracts were repudiated, and in a few years he conveyed his property for the benefit of creditors.<sup>5</sup> The old place hung in the wind for some time, till finally taken, along with the other family seat (a total of over one hundred and forty acres), by Andrew Craigie in 1792, "being the late Homestead of Henry Vassall, Esquire."<sup>6</sup>

The active and ingenious Mr. Craigie had an intimate knowledge of the house already. He had been the first Apothecary General of the Continental Army, and as such a constant at-

<sup>1</sup> Senator John Pitts to Colonel Warner of Portsmouth, Boston, May 10, 1782. *James Pitts Memorial*, 58. For the conveyance itself, dated April 14, 1782, see Middlesex Deeds, 83/170.

<sup>2</sup> For biography and portrait see J. J. Currier, *Ould Newbury*, 554. *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xxv, 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 83/171.

<sup>5</sup> 1786. Middlesex Deeds, 94/383.

<sup>6</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 110/406.

tendant at the former medical headquarters — high-priest, so to speak, at the shrine of that chest<sup>1</sup> which once concealed a moiety of all his malodorous mysteries. He too was now immensely wealthy, but for him also the whirligig of time brought in its revenges; his ambitious projects in Cambridge real estate proved premature, and like so many other owners of the old mansion he died a bankrupt.<sup>2</sup>

That, to be sure, was long after the Widow Vassall's day. During her lifetime the beautiful old place seemed doomed to be bandied about with true American *insouciance* — now as a mere land speculation, now to round out a deal in neighboring properties — and in requital seeming to bring only bad luck to its holders. Its character as a homestead was utterly gone. None of its transitory owners lived in it. Up to the time it was sold by the Pittses, Captain Adams continued his precarious occupancy.<sup>3</sup> If young Pitts and inherent probability are to be trusted, he took good care to leave as little as possible behind him. Both Tracy and Craigie naturally preferred the better preserved grandeurs of the newer mansion across the road. The former leased the old house to one Fred Geyer, grandson of Governor Belcher, who had owned it from 1717 to 1719; the latter to Mr. Bossenger Foster, his brother-in-law and a "gentleman of leisure," who like Trollett died of the gout.<sup>4</sup>

Its rightful mistress could only look on in silent hopelessness as the estate drifted further and further beyond her reach. Un-

<sup>1</sup> See page 47.

<sup>2</sup> 1819. "Well would it have been for him if his friends could have said to him, — 'Thou hast no speculation in thine eyes.' But he had, and a great deal of it. His plan was to develop Lechmere's Point, called in my younger days 'The Pint,' and bring into the market the land he had secured there. The new road to 'The Colleges,' now Cambridge Street, the bridge to Boston, still called Craigie's bridge, the removal to the 'Pint' of the Court House and Jail, were all parts of this plan. . . . The [turnpike] toll which was to repay the building was found represented only by the funeral knell of departed funds." John Holmes, "Andrew Craigie."

<sup>3</sup> Although the "agents" of the confiscated estates were authorized to lease them for only one year, Mr. Mason, in the same way, kept his occupancy of the Phips house for a decade. (*Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 83. See note, page 54.) Adams's name is repeated as the tenant of the Vassall house in Mass. Archives, 154/382, under the assigned date of 1782. But shortly after the sale to Tracy, he is described as "of Stoneham" (1783). Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, i, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 547, etc.; *Cambridge Hist. Soc. Proc.* ix, 7.

like some of the more fortunate and forceful Loyalists who dared to return after the war, she had no influential champions to cajole or bully the authorities into restoring her property. Her immediate male relatives were in England, and for all the good they did her might as well have been in an old ladies' home. Her brother Isaac Royall, "confessedly a gent of much timidity," was dying at Kensington; her nephew, John Vassall, was "living very comfortably" at Clapham, spending his time in grumbling and pension-hunting; her brother-in-law, William Vassall, was busy writing lachrymose letters bewailing his own lost property in Boston. Her former neighbors who had espoused the patriot cause had little but hard looks and muttered accusations for anyone who could be held even remotely responsible for the sore straits in which they now found themselves.

Outeast and homeless in Cambridge, she took refuge in Boston, most likely with the Russell connections. There she passed the wretched remainder of her days, in sad contrast with her earlier years. She had been ruthlessly robbed of her property by the very government under which she had sought protection. Both her own and her husband's families had vanished; she had neither son nor grandson upon whom to lean; her household consisted entirely of "elegant females" as dependent as herself. As for earning a livelihood, pride forbade what incompetence had already made impossible. To poverty and age were superadded the anxieties connected with the affairs of her unlucky spouse, whose old debts oppressed and distracted her timid nature. In a kind of financial nightmare long-forgotten creditors pounced ghoulishly upon her and pursued her endlessly from court to court. It is some comfort to know that in most cases she was able to escape their clutches.<sup>1</sup>

But there was a brighter side to the picture. Her own family connections did not entirely desert her. Among the exiles in London was a kindly cousin, Joseph Royall, "late of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Procter v. Vassall* (1794), on her notes made in 1767-68. Verdict for defendant with costs, affirmed on appeal. (No. 106852, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.) She was also sued on her own more recent notes by John Semple of Glasgow (1786), William Mackay of Boston (1788), etc. A quaint official testimony to her poverty is seen in the sheriff's returns on these writs, the usual article attached being "a chair, the property of the defendant."

Jamaica.”<sup>1</sup> By some unexplained good fortune he had been able to retain from the spoilers more than twenty-five acres of land in Dorchester and Milton, with house, barn, etc. These, in 1782, he conveyed to her, “in consideration of the affection I bear my cousin Penelope Vassall of Boston, widow, and for five shillings.” She in turn sold them in various parcels as fast as she could, eking out on the proceeds her dreary existence.<sup>2</sup>

Her greatest benefactor of all was her nephew by marriage, Thomas Oliver, now of Bristol, England, a generous little gentleman who had proved a true friend in need to more than one of his former neighbors in Cambridge. His family estates in Antigua adjoined those of the Royalls, and although Mrs. Vassall’s depreciated share of the latter plantation was in the hands of creditors, he was evidently convinced by practical experience that the place was capable of successful rehabilitation. As a trustee<sup>3</sup> for the Widow, therefore, he seems to have undertaken the redemption of the property, gradually paying off the debts with which it was burdened, and (aided by a general improvement of local conditions) bringing it to such a pitch of efficiency that by 1791 her interest in it was valued at £5167. At that date he took a formal lease from her for nine years at £350 per annum, and in 1795, all the encumbrances having been cleared up, he received a conveyance, presumably by way of mortgage.<sup>4</sup> Although it is pretty certain that the greater part of the actual proceeds of these transactions had already been advanced to Penelope in a long series of anticipatory loans, which had kept her from starvation for years past, yet there is reason to believe that, thanks to the warm-hearted ex-lieutenant-governor, the close of her life was blessed with something resembling an income, a

<sup>1</sup> 1778. Harris, “The New England Royalls,” *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, xxxix, 354, n.

<sup>2</sup> Suffolk Deeds, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See page 39. Oliver was noted for his success as a planter.

<sup>4</sup> Antigua Records, Lib. V, vol. 5, fol. 86, and Lib. O, vol. 7, fol. 87. His lease of Mrs. Vassall’s half was simultaneous with a purchase of Isaac Royall’s, containing about sixty acres and forty slaves. (*Idem*, Lib. W, vol. 5, fol. 222.) The supposition of a mortgage is necessary in view of the fact that after Mrs. Vassall’s death her heirs sold the same property to him outright (1806) for about £6000. (*Idem*, Lib. F, vol. 7, fol. 203.) He thus became owner of the entire Royall plantation.

Cambridge December 21: 1767

I the Subscriber Do hereby promise to pay  
or cause to be payed unto Elizabeth Fletcher or  
order the sum of twenty six pounds thirteen  
shillings & four pence & assigned money over  
Demand it being for the same value received  
by me as witness my self Penelope Paskell

PENELOPE VASSALLE'S WRITING

(Actual size)

See page 10 n.



luxury to which she had been unaccustomed for almost thirty years.<sup>1</sup>

At last, as the new century dawned, her poor shadow faded from the scene, after seventy-six years in a world wherein she had found that wealth and beauty and happiness are but shadows too. She was buried beside her husband, one dark November day<sup>2</sup> of 1800, in the tomb he built beneath Christ Church. By her will,<sup>3</sup> feebly scrawled on a bit of note-paper, she left all her estate "in possession, remainder or reversion whether in the United States or the Island of Antigua," to her "only child Elizabeth Russell of Boston, widow," and appointed her as administratrix. But two years later, before the estate had been closed, Mrs. Russell was laid beside her parents,<sup>4</sup> and the lingering possibility that the old Vassall homestead might welcome back its rightful occupants was gone forever.

#### IV

No mention of Henry Vassall or of his tomb would be complete without some account of his slaves, Anthouy, or "Tony," the father and "Darby" the son, already alluded to. Their position in Cambridge annals is unique. They afford our only instance of well-authenticated cases illustrating the fortunes of ex-slaves of the "George Washington's body-servant" type. Tony's indeterminate, serio-comic rôle during the Revolution — half chat-

<sup>1</sup> In 1794, for example, she was able to turn the tables of the law by suing George Bacon of Stockbridge for a loan to him of £12. No. 98194, "Early Court Files," Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.

<sup>2</sup> She died on the 19th. Harris, "The New England Royalls," *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, xxxix, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Suffolk Probate, No. 21362.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Russell left no will and apparently no property save the Antigua interests. Just what these amounted to is hard to say. For several years after her death they were so little considered that it was not thought worth while even to settle her estate. Then, as has been noted, they were sold by her daughters to Oliver, nominally for £6000. Probably to satisfy the conveyancers, administration was taken out in 1807, but the papers were so carelessly drawn that one cannot but feel they represented very little. Some of the printed forms are of the wrong kind, others are erroneously indorsed, and Penelope Vassall is described throughout as intestate. (Suffolk Probate, Nos. 21362 and 23010.) The bonds were set at \$20,000. If this sum, according to the usual rule, was twice the value of the estate, we may infer the latter was not more than about £2000, which figure may have represented the actual amount paid (or already advanced) by Oliver.

tel, half independent wage-earner, now quasi-foundling and pauper, now high financier — quaintly suggests the political and civic no-man's-land through which, lacking the short cut of an authoritative *pronunciamento*,<sup>1</sup> the negroes of New England passed on their way from servitude to citizenship. Darby, on the other hand, surviving far into the nineteenth century and within living memory, forms as it were an ebon link connecting the heroic and the modern periods of the town history. Father and son together have earned our gratitude, too, for perpetuating between them most of the scanty traditions of their "family" that we still possess.

Tony, according to these traditions,<sup>2</sup> was shanghaied from Spain at an early age, with the lure of "seeing the world." The particular portion of the universe exhibited to him was the island of Jamaica. Here he was bought for a coachman by young Harry Vassall, and his travels were soon extended to Cambridge. Like master, like man. When the Colonel married Penelope Royall, his coachman espoused her maid "Coby,"<sup>3</sup> or Cuba (said, in spite of her name, to have been a full-blooded African), and the happy pair brought up a numerous family.<sup>4</sup>

How many compatriots they had in the Vassall household during its heyday is uncertain. The Colonel unquestionably brought other slaves with him from Jamaica besides Tony. A number were contributed by Mrs. Vassall as a part of her dowry. The

<sup>1</sup> The Massachusetts legislators could never quite screw up their courage to the point of emancipating the slaves within their jurisdiction. The subject was debated "for many years" without result; and even in 1777, when the country was ringing with the battle-cry of freedom, and the negroes themselves were petitioning earnestly for recognition, a bill for that purpose was tabled on the second reading, while a letter to Congress was prepared. With a sorry mixture of timidity and arrogance it stated that the delay was due to a fear that action by Massachusetts might have too "extensive influence" on "our Brethren in the other Colonies." The letter itself was tabled, and nothing more was done. Mass. Archives, 197/125. *Historic Magazine, Second Series*, v, 52.

<sup>2</sup> See a manuscript note, apparently taken down by Rev. Dr. Hoppin from the statements of Darby about 1855, preserved in the papers of Christ Church.

<sup>3</sup> Old Isaac Royall by his will in 1738 had bequeathed to his daughter "one Negro Girl called Present and one Negro Woman called Abba & her Six Children named Robin Coba Walker Nuba Trace & Tobey to hold to my Said Daughter & her Heirs forever [!]." Middlesex Probate, 19545, O.S.

<sup>4</sup> Several of them can be seen on the inventory of 1769. It is amusing to notice that according to cash values therein Tony was scarcely half the man his wife was. See Appendix A.

names of nearly a score are scattered under various dates through the scanty manuscripts mentioning such matters. Added to the similar establishments of the other rich West India planters of the town, they gave pre-revolutionary Cambridge the strange notability of a black population nearly three times greater than that of any other place with less than 2000 inhabitants in the whole province.<sup>1</sup> In some of these establishments they were so numerous that, as at the Royalls, they had separate "quarters," after the Southern custom. In others, as (traditionally) at the Borlands, they occupied an extra story of the main house. In many churches they were given a special gallery; but just what was done with them at Christ Church, which had no galleries, and where they must have been particularly in evidence, is not clear.<sup>2</sup> On a list<sup>3</sup> of the families of that parish, drawn up by the rector in 1763, Colonel Vassall is put down for ten persons. Since himself, his wife, and Miss Elizabeth account for only three, we conclude that even at this date, when his fortunes were on the wane, he had at least seven servants worth mentioning in such a connection. And since the expense book already quoted gives no clue to any servant receiving regular wages, we may further conclude that all seven were slaves.

<sup>1</sup> The special census in 1754 of "Slaves of 16 Years and over," and the "lost" general census of 1765, recently rediscovered by Benton, yield the following comparisons for the towns nearest to Cambridge in size:

Order in Population		1754		1765	
		Slaves	Negroes	Total	
36th.	Sudbury . . . . .	14	27	1772	
37th.	Harwich . . . . .	14	23	1772	
38th.	Attleboro' . . . . .	10	15	1739	
39th.	Cambridge . . . . .	56	90	1582	
40th.	Coneord . . . . .	15	27	1564	
41st.	Boxford . . . . .	8	17	1550	
42nd.	Reading . . . . .	20	34	1537	
Lexington . . . . .					
		24	44	912	
Medford . . . . .					
		34	47	790	

A striking exception, due of course to the same causes, is found in the little hamlets of

Lexington . . . . .	24	44	912
Medford . . . . .	34	47	790

<sup>2</sup> Some of the largest slaveholders—Borland, Phips, John Vassall—had two pews each, and, as many of the side pews were never bought, there would be plenty of room for such other slaves as actually attended; but the religious instruction of their servants was scarcely a strong point with the easy-going proprietors of "Church Row."

<sup>3</sup> Perry, *Papers Relating to the Church in Massachusetts*, 502.

The sable brethren, despite their lowly status, occupy a prominent place in the above expense book. The daily marketing and "sundrys," it appears, were usually intrusted to "Tony," "Jack," or "Jemmy"<sup>1</sup> — sometimes to "Merryfield." Then there were "leather breeches for Jemmy £7;" and for his more expansive father, "pd. Hall for toneys breeches £8.5." There are also such items as "pd. peak<sup>2</sup> for Nursing Cuba £6;" and on Christmas Day, "given servants £5.12.6."

Entries like these are characteristic of the kindly and paternal relations that almost always mitigated the conditions of slavery in New England. The indefensible ethics of the system were practically obscured by the simple-hearted friendliness that made the Africans well-nigh members of the family.<sup>3</sup> In many households they even ate at their master's table. Indeed William Vassall, the Colonel's brother, who owned swarms of negroes in Jamaica, had "scruples" as to retaining them in bondage at all. He actually consulted Bishop Butler on the question, but decided — doubtless with considerable relief — to make no change when that famous casuist reassured him "on Scripture ground."<sup>4</sup>

Strict historical impartiality compels the admission that there was another side to the shield. In base return for their humane treatment the slaves sometimes displayed rank ingratitude and treachery. Morally and intellectually they were for the most part mere children, and occasionally exceedingly naughty children. The court records<sup>5</sup> give us a shocking instance of perversity in the Vassall household itself — a crime as black as the perpetrators.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Tony and older brother of Darby.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the entry in the interleaved almanac of Rev. Andrew Eliot of Boston: "1744, Mar. 14 Mary Peake came to nurse our Child at 18/  $\frac{1}{2}$  week."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the numerous entries regarding the death of "Negro George," one of Isaac Royall's slaves. E.g., "1776 March, To the Sexton & Bearers for negro Georges Funeral 15/7; To time in Apprizing George's Cloathes & takg Care of them 3/-" Middlesex Probate, 19546, Old Series.

<sup>4</sup> Dexter to Belknap. *Belknap Papers*, ii, 384. See also the working-over of this famous section of the Belknap correspondence by such authorities as G. H. Moore, *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, and E. Washburn, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th Series*, iv, 333, and *Lectures on Early Massachusetts History*, 193.

<sup>5</sup> No. 69278, "Early Court Files," Middlesex "Minute Book" 1752-56, and Records, Superior Court of Judicature, vol. "1752-53" fol. 126, all in Clerk's Office, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston.

The Jurors for the said Lord ye King Upon Their Oath Present That William Heley of Cambridge in the County aforesaid Laborer and Robbin<sup>1</sup> of Cambridge aforesd Laborer and Servant of Henry Vassell of Cambridge aforesd Esqr. did on ye Ninth of May last at Cambridge aforesaid With force and Armes Brake & Enter the Dwell-ing house in Cambridge aforesd of William Brattle Esq. and with force as aforesd feloniously Take Steal & Carry away Out of ye Same house An Iron Chest and the Money Goods and Chattels hereafter mentioned then in the Same Chest being, namely, Six hundred and three Spanish Milld Dollars, one half of a Dollar and one Eighth of a Dollar, One hundred and Seventy Pieces of Eight, One Large Silver Cup, Two Silver Chafing dishes, One Silver Sauce Pan, Three Silver Tankards, Nine Silver Porringers, thirteen Large Silver Spoons, One Silver Punch Ladle, Twelve Silver Tea Spoons, One pair of Silver Tea tongs One Silver Pepper Box, four Silver Salt Salvers, One Large Silver Plate, Two Silver Canns, Two Silver Candle-Sticks One pair of Silver Snuffers and Snuff Dish two Silver Sweet Meat Spoons, One Silver Spout Cup, One Hundred and thirty three Small Pieces of Silver Coin Two hundred and Eighty Six Copper half pence, & Eight Small Bags being the Goods and Chattels of the said William Brattle and altogether of ye Value of three hundred and fifty pounds Lawful money against the Peace of ye said Lord the King and the Law of this Province in that Case made and Provided.

EDMD TROWBRIDGE, *Attr Dom Rex.*

*[Endorsed]*

This is a True Bill

EPHRAIM JONES *foreman.*

To this Indictment the said William Heley & Robin severally plead guilty

*Attr SAML WINTHROP Cler.*

Robbin Negro on his Examination Taken This 19th of May AD 1752 before Saml Danforth & E. Trowbridge Esqrs. Says That Last Satturday was Seven night abt. Two of ye Clock in ye night Wm. Healy & I were Concern'd in Stealing ye Chest of Silver some Time Since sd Healey Told me that it was a good Time to get into Coll. Brattles House & Get Something. I told him I was afraid by reason of ye Small Pox he thereupon Told me That he would go into ye house if I would go along with him & I agreeing to it he in ye sd. Saturday Night Came & Awaked me out of my Sleep & we went to Coll Brattles house & he Went into Coll. Brattles Barn & Got a Ladder

<sup>1</sup> Brother of Cuba. See note, page 62.

& Set up agt ye Back of Ye house & Got into ye Back Window and Got Out ye Chest let it down on ye Roof of ye Studdy and delivered it to me on ye Ladder & I held it there Until he got down & then we Carried it Out of ye Gate & Thence Thro' my master Garden into ye Cornfield & there we got an ax (which I Fetch) & he Opend it & I went away for fear of ye Small Pox & when it was Open'd He Took ye Money Out of ye Chest & then Berried ye Chest in ye field where it lay with ye Plate in it Until ye next Monday Night When we Took ye Plate out & Carried ye Chest away & Berried it in a Ditch in Mr Ellerics land & we hid both ye money & plate Under My Masters Barn where it was found. Dick Brattle gave in ye first Information Concerning ye money he Said That there was an Iron Chest in ye Closet in his Masters Chamber yt he Supposed was half full of Money & yt if Wm. Healey Could Carry him off he Could Get him money Enough This Was Soon after Wm. Came to live at my Masters, . . . We Told Toney of it & he Crept Under Ye Barn Flower to hide ye money ye Next Morning after we Stole it but he never had any part of it as I know of but had ye promise of part of it. I took ye money This day & put it in ye place whence I Fetched it & that is ye Same money we Took Out of ye Chest we Took Everything Out of ye Chest but some papers Wm Heley proposed (that when we were ready to go off) to Take My Masters plate but I told him it would not do. No other persons were knowing of ye affair.

Wm. Heley Says That Dick Brattle Told Robbin where his Masters Gold & Silver was & yt his Masters daughter was agoing to be married & if they did not get it Soon it would not be Worth While to meddle With it dick Said there was a Vast deal of Gold & A great Many Rings in a Box in his Misters Chamber yt stood on a desk there & that there was an Iron Chest in ye Closett that was half full of Dollars & Carried Robbin to see ye Chest yt if they were Enoculated he Robin might get it. Last Saturday Night was seven Night Robin & I went into Coll Brattles he went in to ye Barn & got a ladder & set up agt ye Back Side of ye house & opened ye Chamber window got in & Took Out ye Iron Chest & let it down on ye ladder Robbin bought 3 pair of stockins & Two handkerchief with part of ye money one of which Joseph Luke had & also two of ye Dollars Robbin & Toney hid ye Money ye next morning. Robin Opend ye Chest & Took Out ye Money & left ye Plate in ye Chest which he Buried in ye Field, Joseph Luke was knowing of ye design of Stealing ye money abt 3 weeks Since & it was Agreed That Dick Shouild have half & ye Other was to be divided between Luke Robin & myself Luke was not present when the money was Stole, but Come afterwards & de-

manded his part and Said ye reason he did not help was because he was drunk Robbin & I were with Luke yt Evening before ye money was Stole & drank togeather in Mr. Reed's Yard. I stood by Coll Brattles dore & by ye Gate (while Robbin was entring ye house) to Watch & See that he was not discovered & yt no One was a Comeing.

I took ye Dollars that Were found on me Out of a napkin in Mr. Vassells Little house where there was also Some Coppers yt Toney Brought from Boston in Exchange for Some of ye Dollars yt were stole. The Dollars found on me are part of Coll. Brattles as I suppose & Believe for Robbin Told me he had sent some down by Toney & He Told me he put them in ye napkin & were part of Coll Brattles The Coppers you have are my own & also One of ye Dollars. Our design was to go to Cape Breton & from thence to France.

At his Majesty's superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and general goal Delivery begun & held at Concord . . . 4 August 1752 . . .

The Court having considered the Offence of the said Wm Heley and Robin, order that each of them be whipt twenty Stripes upon his naked back at the public whiping, and that they pay the sd Wm Brattle trible the value of the Goods stolen (the trible being £786) the goods return'd (being of the value of £214) to be accounted part; and that they pay costs of prosecution standing committed until this Sentence be perform'd.

N.B. in Case the sd Wm Heley & Robin be unable to make restitution or pay the trible Damages ordered that the sd Wm Brattle be & hereby is impower'd to dispose of the sd Wm Heley in Service to any of his Majesty's Subjects for the Term of twenty years, and to dispose of the sd Robin for the Term of his natural Life.

Since nothing more is heard of either of the culprits it is to be supposed that this harsh sentence<sup>1</sup> was duly carried out, and that Henry Vassall was thus deprived of another portion of his fast-disappearing property.

Tony himself, although he plainly hovered on the outskirts of the crime as a willing accessory, seems to have been able to clear his reputation and to maintain his confidential relations with his master. The tie between them was apparently one of real affec-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the even more terrible punishment, three years later, of two negroes who had poisoned their master, and who were executed on Cambridge Common: "Mark, a fellow about 30, was hanged; and Phillis, an old creature, was burnt to death." Winthrop's Diary, September 18, 1755, quoted in Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 217.

tion. They had been together nearly all their lives, and it needs but a modicum of imagination to fancy the escapades, equine and otherwise, to which the old coachman had been privy. Though the Colonel, as we have seen, probably sold off several of his slaves during the financial stresses of his later years, yet he steadfastly refused to part with Tony. So too Madame Vassall after his death. In her attempts to clear the estate from debts she even sold Cuba and the children<sup>1</sup> to young John Vassall across the road (though the actual transfer could have been scarcely more than nominal), but kept Tony on the old place.<sup>2</sup>

In return the slave exhibited a Casabianca-like fidelity. It is not unlikely that when both Vassall families retreated from Cambridge he was left in charge of the combined properties.<sup>3</sup> At all events he hung about the homestead during the eclipse of its former splendor like a kind of dusky human penumbra. His shadowy presence haunts the Burgoyne dinner traditions<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> As late as a generation ago there was said to be "documentary evidence" that in 1722 she showed her "kindness" by paying £20 to free one of Tony's children from slavery. (*The Cambridge of 1776*, 100.) Since the date is obviously wrong — it should probably be 1772 — we may suspect a further confusion in the statement and assume that under the circumstances the payment was made not by, but to her, and that her object was not so much altruistic as to raise much needed funds.

Although even in the forced settlement of estates the slaves of New England were generally treated with consideration, a shocking instance of the opposite sort is found in the letters of the Rev. Winwood Serjeant. After the death of his father-in-law, the Rev. Arthur Browne of Portsmouth, N. H., the latter's old serving-man "Jess [?Jesse]" was sold to a planter in the West Indies in 1774. In a frenzy of despair at the separation from all his lifelong associations, the poor creature threw himself overboard on the voyage and perished miserably.

<sup>2</sup> Where he duly appears, *solutus*, on the inventory of 1778. (See Appendix B.) It is instructive to notice that he is now entered somewhat hesitatingly as a "negro man," not as a slave, and has no appraised money value as a chattel. Neither does he figure on the actual sale-list of the ensuing auction. Plainly public opinion was setting in the opposite direction. (See note, page 70.)

<sup>3</sup> In August, 1775, a committee appointed to take charge of "such Estates only as may be found without Occupant or possessor," reported that "many of them who are left in possession under pretence of occupants are only negroes or servants &c and that in some instances the Officers Doctors and others belonging to the army have entered upon & taken possession & make waste on sd Estates." (Mass. Archives, 154/30.) The language here points unmistakably to the Vassall houses, one of which was now in full swing as a hospital and the other as military headquarters.

<sup>4</sup> See post.

appears sharply silhouetted on the inventory of 1778.<sup>1</sup> We also glimpse him at work on the confiscated estate of his mistress's brother at Medford — work which, in his new status of a paid hand, he seems to have valued more highly than his employer did.<sup>2</sup>

"Antony Vafsall — 1" is entered, along with "Cato Boardman — 1," on the list of polls in Cambridge for 1777, but is taxed for neither personality nor realty. The exemption he had cleverly secured by taking up his domicile with his wife and children, who "inhabited a small tenement on Mr. John Vassal's estate and improved a little spot of lan'l of about one and a half acres lying adjaceant,"<sup>3</sup> and thus contriving to enjoy a freedom from rents and taxes as well as from bondage.<sup>4</sup> When in 1781 the final sale of all confiscated Loyalist property was arranged, he beheld with dismay the vanishing of his peculiar privileges, but determined to take advantage of the anomalous conditions to secure if possible a free title to his diminutive domain. Like any other full-fledged citizen,<sup>5</sup> therefore, he petitioned the Legis-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts of Simon Tufts, "Agent for Isaae Royall, Absentee," include:

1776 Dec. 10 To Toney Mrs. Vassalls Negro	£4.
1777 Jan. 17 To Toney Vassall	4.
Apr. 15 To Toney Vassall's Ballance	1.12.
Jul. 28 To Toney Vassall's full Ballance by Arbitration	0.6.6

<sup>3</sup> "Memorial of Anthony Vassall of Cambridge, a negro man," to the Massachusetts Legislature, 1781. (Mass. Archives, 231/114-15.) The location was evidently "The Farm House East of the Garden," with one and one-half acres and 22 rods, valued in the inventory of 1778 at £243. (Middlesex Probate, 23340, O.S.) On this inventory Cuba and Little Darby are plainly identified as "one negro woman of about 40 years of age, one negro boy about 8 years," together with the most recent arrival of all, "another negro child about three months." On reconsideration this last item was struck through with the pen. The above are the only entries of the kind. No values are set against them. (Cf. note, page 68.)

<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he undoubtedly managed to benefit by the kindly action of the House of Representatives, which, considering that several refugees "have left behind them some of their Families who through Age, Infirmity or other Circumstances are unable to provide for their own Support," resolved "to grant a reasonable Allowance towards the Support & Maintenance of Persons in such Circumstances," and to pay "such reasonable Charges as may have arisen for boarding & supporting such Persons since the Departure of the afore-said Refugees." (November, 1776.) Mass. Archives, 154/73.

<sup>5</sup> Slavery in Massachusetts, impliedly done away with by the Bill of Rights, received its *coup de grace* in 1781 by the decision in the case of "Quork"

lature — having “a large family of children to maintain, and being an old man, and his wife, who was of great help to him, being sick” — to have his squatter’s rights confirmed by a good title from the state. The friendly hand that drafted the memorial (Tony’s own chirographical powers were limited to making his mark — a bold and handsome capital “T”) added, not without effect, “that though dwelling in a land of freedom, both himself and his wife have spent almost sixty years of their lives in slavery, and that though deprived of what now makes them happy beyond expression yet they have ever lived a life of honesty and been faithful in their master’s service,” and expressed the hope “that they shall not be denied the sweets of freedom the remainder of their days by being reduced to the painful necessity of begging for bread.” On this quaint appeal the good-natured law-makers, perhaps further influenced by the above delicate suggestion that the petitioners otherwise might “come on the town,” compromised by ordering that out of the proceeds of the John Vassall sales Tony should be paid the sum of £12, and the same amount annually thereafter from the public funds.<sup>1</sup>

If we not other proofs that Tony Vassall had absorbed no

*Walker v. Jennison.* One of the earlier decisions leading up to this conclusion, it may be of interest to recall, was a test case (Quiney’s Reports, 29 *et seq.*) over another Cambridge slave, “James” Lechmere, undoubtedly a friend of Tony’s. Public opinion in New England, long somnolent on the whole subject because of its easy conditions, became aroused during the mid-century; and thereafter, John Adams declares, he never knew a jury render a verdict to the effect that a man was a slave. He cynically adds, however, that the motives for such sentiments were the very reverse of exalted, being, to wit, the selfish opposition of the laboring whites, who, as their numbers increased, determined to oust their unpaid competitors. (*Bellnap Papers*, ii, 401. See also Washburn and Moore, already cited, page 64.) As early as 1763, Governor Bernard wrote to the Lords of Trade: “The People here are very much tired of Negro Servants; and It is generally thought that it would be for the public good to discourage their importation, if it was not at present very inconfiderable.” Benton, *Early Census Making in Massachusetts*, 55.

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Resolves*, 1781, January Session, chap. lxxxi. Such petitions were not uncommon. An extraordinarily flowery appeal from one of Isaac Royall’s slaves, “Belinda,” born on the Rio da Valta, Africa, received equally favorable action in 1783. (*Mass. Archives*, 239/12.) This dusky bel dame seems to have been a rather notorious source of anxiety to her owner, for in his will he bequeathed to his daughter “my Negro Woman Belinda in case she does not choose her Freedom; if she does choose her Freedom to have it provided she get security that she shall not be a charge to the Town of Medford.” *Suffolk Probate*, 85/535. See note, page 71.

small share of his former master's financial adroitness, we should be surprised to find that, after such a pitiable account of his poverty, and having failed in his ingenious attempt to acquire a home at the public expense, he was able to secure one in the usual manner from his own private means. In 1787 he bought a house and a quarter of an acre of land<sup>1</sup> from Aaron Hill, brick-layer, and four years later a small tract adjoining. In 1793 he acquired from John Foxcroft nearly five acres<sup>2</sup> on the other side of the road (Massachusetts Avenue). His total outlay for these purchases was no less than £152.

The source of this unexpected wealth is one of the most amazing bits of his history. As has been said, he lived during the Revolutionary period with his wife and children on the land of John Vassall, whose property they were. As long as it was possible so to do, he insisted that the cost of their maintenance should stand on the same footing with any other outlays for preserving the confiscated personality until it should be sold. Of the correctness of this he actually succeeded in convincing the "agent," Farrington, on whose accounts appears the extraordinary entry:

Pd Anthony Vassall for supporting a Negro woman & two Children (3 Years,) belonging to the Estate of s<sup>d</sup> [John] Vassall £222.<sup>3</sup>

Cambridge therefore may boast the singular distinction of having possessed a reputable resident who, with neither resources nor backers, achieved by perfectly legal means the supposedly impossible feat of having his cake and eating it too, — enjoying for a period of years a commodious dwelling, a garden lot, a devoted spouse, and a family establishment, which not only cost him nothing, but finally netted him a handsome surplus and a government pension.

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 96/84. The title shows that this was the plot formerly owned by Benjamin Cragbone, tanner, who built thereon, about 1766, one of those "little black story and a half houses with gambrel roofs, that saw the row that was going on the 19th of April, '75." (John Holmes, "A Cambridge Robinson Crusoe," in *The City and the Sea*, 20.) The location was near the corner of the present Massachusetts Avenue and Shepard Street. (*The Cambridge of 1776*, 100. See also Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 519.)

<sup>2</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 105/274 and 110/199.

<sup>3</sup> Middlesex Probate, No. 23340, O.S. The transaction was probably modelled on the similar charge by the executor of Isaac Royall "for Supporting Belinda his aged Negro Servant for 3 Years, £30," but, it will be noted, on an enormously inflated capitalization.

On his own manor thus ludicrously procured, with his truly valuable helpmeet, "two pigs, a horse, cart and tackling, a boat-hook, etc.,"<sup>1</sup> the old Loyalist coachman dwelt for some thirty years, plying the trade of a "farrier"<sup>2</sup> in an intermittent and desultory fashion which he more than atoned for by the admirable regularity with which he drew his pension. The following pastoral document<sup>3</sup> gives a good example of his craft. That word, indeed, may be taken with a double meaning, since we have here additional evidence that Tony's commercial methods were of the most advanced order and included the thoroughly modern system of overcharging for everything.

Will <sup>m</sup> Winthrop Esq <sup>r</sup>		
th 1791	To Antony Vafsall	Dr
To keep <sup>g</sup> Your Horfe on hay from		
th 10 Nov <sup>r</sup> to th 13 Jany 1792 being		
63 days at 1/6 p <sup>d</sup> day	4.14.6	
To trimming said Horfe	3.	
Docking s <sup>d</sup> Horfe	1.6	
		£4.19.0

after mature Consideration of the above  
Acct it appears to me that there is due  
to Antony Vafsell £2.10.6

EBEN<sup>r</sup> STEDMAN

[Endorsed]

Tony Vafsall's Acco<sup>t</sup>  
p<sup>d</sup> Jan. 12, 1793

---

January 12 1793 Rec<sup>d</sup> payment  
of the within Acco<sup>t</sup> which is  
in full of all debts dues and  
demands whatever

ANTONY      his  
                T      VASSALL

Test.                      mark  
JNO. ALFORD MASON

<sup>1</sup> Inventory of 1811. Middlesex Probate, No. 23335, Old Series.

<sup>2</sup> He is designated in the records both as "farrier" and as "labourer," and in one case (probably most to his liking) receives the sonorous appellation of "yeoman."

<sup>3</sup> Preserved in a scrap-book at the Cambridge Public Library.

Like most of his race, Tony was never averse to abandoning the grosser forms of toil for the fine art of conversation; and he delighted to expound to the younger generation the glories of the good old times before the war. He was famous for his grandiloquent descriptions of the ancient splendors of "the family" and his own Apollo-like magnificence on the box seat of the chariot when they drove to church on Sundays or into Boston for some stately function. Such reminiscences were of course strongly colored by the native foibles of the narrator; it is doubtless, for example, due to his vivid African imagination that the old Vassall house for generations afterwards enjoyed the reputation of being "ha'nted."<sup>1</sup>

In September of 1811, at a fabulous age,<sup>2</sup> Anthony Vassall shuffled off this earthly stage, leaving the faithful Cuba as his chief mourner.<sup>3</sup> Her tears, nevertheless, were not so blinding as to make her lose sight of the "pension." Since by its terms it was not payable to her, she lost no time in applying afresh to the Great and General Court, "at a very advanced period of life and destitute of other regular means of support," praying the legislators "to take pity on her humble state, and seeing the premises, to grant the continuance of the said pension of £12 during the remnant of her life." To enforce her claim she piquantly pointed out that the original annuity was to be paid out of the proceeds of the estate of John Vassall, "on her your petitioner's account, and for her support; as she was, prior to the Revolution, and at the time of the confiscation, the

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge of 1776*, 100. Such stories naturally lost nothing in the lively fancies of the many young folks who subsequently occupied the mansion. Persons now living can testify to mysterious nocturnal rustlings in the great chamber where Church was confined (see *post*); the negro boy who was pricked to death by Burgoyne's officers (see *post*) "walked" in one of the attic rooms; the ghost of old Governor Belcher (the owner from 1717 to 1719) could be heard tiptoeing along the halls in his squeaky riding-boots; on stormy nights the balls of spectral skittle-players reverberated along the roof.

<sup>2</sup> Given in *Cambridge Vital Records*, ii, 772, as ninety-eight.

<sup>3</sup> Middlesex Probate, No. 23335, O.S. At or soon after this date his heirs seem to have been his daughter Catherine (evidently named for his former master's granddaughter, Miss Russell); Abigail (Hill), widow of James or "Jemmy"; Eliza Flagg, daughter of Cyrus; Flora, widow of "Bristol" Miranda (compare the John Miranda mentioned in Paige, 450); and Darby, described as "the only son." Dorinda, mentioned in the inventory of 1769, had died in 1784. *Cambridge Vital Records*, ii, 772.

domestic slave and dependent of the said John Vassall, and her said husband was not." Through the good offices of Lemuel Shaw, the Legislature resolved to accede to her request and continue her little dole, now represented by \$40, "until further order of this Court."<sup>1</sup> The last clause evinced an almost needless precaution. The old crone claimed her pittance but one year more.<sup>2</sup>

Darby, the best remembered child of the couple, was born, if his own statement<sup>3</sup> is to be relied on, in May of 1769, beneath the roof of John Vassall, who had already purchased the mother Cuba, and thus become entitled to her offspring. At a tender age he was "given" to George Reed of South Woburn, a recent convert to Episcopalianism and one of the group who from that distant township occasionally attended Christ Church, Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> That worthy patriot, when the Revolution broke out, threw to the winds his half-assimilated Church of England principles, joined the provincial forces, marched to Bunker Hill, was there stricken by "a surfeit or heat," and in a few days expired.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Resolves of 1811-12, chap. cliv, and accompanying papers: "Petition of Cuby Vassall," approved Feb. 28, 1812 by her fellow-townsman Gov. Gerry. See Judge Shaw's reminiscences of the matter in *Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, 1st Series*, iv, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Her age is given as seventy-eight. As in her husband's case, consumption was the immediate cause of death. (*Cambridge Vital Records*, ii, 772.) Both were buried from the First Parish, of which they were doubtless members, Christ Church at this period being closed.

<sup>3</sup> Hoppin MS. (see note, page 62). Cf. Darby's own deposition in Suffolk Deeds, 387/122.

<sup>4</sup> See Sewall, *History of Woburn*, 500. The Reeds were considerable slave-holders (Johnson, *Woburn Deaths*, 154) and made a specialty of getting their stock very young. In a case parallel to Darby's, "Venus" was given to Swithin Reed while she was so tiny that she was brought from Boston in a saddlebag. (Curtis, *Ye Olde Meeting House*, 61.) A "nigger baby" in fact, among the well-to-do of those days, was a favorite and frequent gift. Many slaveholders regarded their property's offspring as troublesome incumbrances and "gave them away like puppies," or, in default of ready recipients, advertised them with a cash bonus to the taker. (Moore, *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 57, quoting Belknap. See also Washburn, *ubi supra*, 216.) As late as 1779 "Cato," son of "Violet," was sold at the age of six. See Littleton v. Tuttle, a note to the case of *Winchendon v. Hatfield* (4 *Mass. Reports*, 128), relating to the fortunes of "Edom London," who in nineteen years changed masters no less than eleven times, besides twice enlisting in the Continental Army.

<sup>5</sup> Sewall, *History of Woburn*, 573, n.

Little Darby thereupon wandered back to Cambridge, only to find his first master as effectually beyond recall as his second. To fill the gap a third was unexpectedly offered in no less a personage than George Washington himself. For when the General arrived at his permanent headquarters in the abandoned John Vassall house, he found the youngster (so the story runs) disconsolately swinging on the gate. The Virginia planter, who had handled slaves all his life, good-naturedly proposed to take the boy into his service. What must have been his astonishment when the piekaninny coolly inquired as to the rate of compensation. Such a left-handed manifestation of the new and much vaunted "spirit of liberty" was not at all to the taste of the Commander-in-chief, and his emphatic remarks on the subject caused Darby Vassall to declare to the day of his death that "General Washington was no gentleman, to expect a boy to work without wages."<sup>1</sup>

Further details of his youthful days are lacking, except his own statement that he was brought up a Congregationalist — not surprising in view of the almost total extinction of the doctrines of England, religious as well as political, in his neighborhood. Following the general seaward migration of the negroes after the Revolution, he left his parents in Cambridge and drifted into Boston. In the metropolis he soon did sufficiently well to buy, with his brother Cyrus, a little house on May Street.<sup>2</sup> He married Lucy Holland in 1802, and had several children.<sup>3</sup> Inheriting, as it were, a certain gentility in his humble station, he was employed by some of the best old families of Boston — the Shaws, the Curtises, etc. — and plainly won their friendship and esteem.<sup>4</sup> His prosperity enabled him, after the death of his father Tony, to buy out the interests of all the other heirs to the Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, xxv, 44, where by obvious error the anecdote is assigned to old Tony.

<sup>2</sup> 1796. Suffolk Deeds, 183/79 *et passim*. He is therein described as a "laborer." His other brother, James, meantime became a "hairdresser." May Street is now Revere Street.

<sup>3</sup> Harris, *Vassals of New England*, 13, n. *Boston Birth Records*, 1810-1849, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> In 1824 he was living in the household of the wealthy Samuel Brown of Boston, who had evidently befriended him for years, and who by will not only left him wearing apparel, fuel and provisions, but also released him from a mortgage of two thousand dollars on the May Street property, given in 1807 to cover the expense of erecting a "New Brick mansion house" thereon. Suffolk Probate, 123/615. Suffolk Deeds, 220/276.

property, at a cost of \$620,<sup>1</sup> and in 1827 to build another house on the land.<sup>2</sup>

The death of his wife the following year probably marks the turning of his good fortune's tide. One by one, also, his children dropped away, in almost every case from consumption. Brother Cyrus had long ago passed over Jordan.<sup>3</sup> As old age crept on, Darby fell upon evil times, was forced first to mortgage and then to sell his little freeholds,<sup>4</sup> and finally to resort to the charity of the Brattle Square Church in Boston, of which he had long been a member. There he became a picturesque and rather noted figure. Scrupulously observing the conventions of the olden time, Sunday by Sunday he toiled up to the abandoned slaves' gallery, or "nigger loft," over the organ, until his pathetic solitude proved too much for the tender-hearted pastor, Dr. Lothrop, and he was given a comfortable seat near the pulpit. His greatest pleasure was a formal call upon the minister, who always received him as deferentially as if he had been a stranger of distinction.<sup>5</sup>

The old fellow's most cherished possession was what he termed his "pass," dated 1843 and signed by Miss Catherine Russell,<sup>6</sup> the granddaughter of Henry Vassall. This grisly document, which would have delighted the heart of "Old Mortality," guaranteed him admission to no worldly dignity or mundane privilege, but to a place after death in the vault beside the moulderings bones of the proud old "family" of which he still counted himself a member. He would frequently make a Sunday pilgrimage to Christ Church to assure himself that his precious prospective domicile was *in statu quo*, and when present he always attended the Com-

<sup>1</sup> December 24, 1813. Middlesex Probate, 23335, Old Series.

<sup>2</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 279/411.

<sup>3</sup> *Boston Death Records*, *passim*, where are also set down, at this period, a considerable number of deaths of other "colored people" bearing the Vassall patronymic — doubtless the remnants of the households of John, William, and other relatives of Colonel Henry. See also *Cambridge Vital Records*, ii, 772.

<sup>4</sup> Middlesex Deeds, 294/248, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Memoir of Lothrop, by Dr. A. P. Peabody. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 2d Series, iii, 169.

<sup>6</sup> She died in 1847 and was buried in the family tomb under Christ Church. Harris, *Vassals of New England*, 22. A letter from this biographer, dated 1862 and preserved in the church files, gives, along with other details of this matter, a copy of the "pass." It extended the privilege also to the members of Darby's family, consisting, at its date, of a daughter and two grandchildren. All apparently predeceased him.

munion. One of the most touching sights of the mid-century in Cambridge was to see this octogenarian representative of "the constant service of the antique world" deferentially waiting till all the white "quality" had partaken, and then creeping forward in lonely humility to receive the Sacrament.

"T is ended now, the sacred feast;  
    Yet on the chancel stair  
For whom awaits the white-robed priest?  
    Who still remains to share  
The broken body of his Lord,  
    To drink the crimson tide  
For us to-day as freely poured  
    As erst from Jesus' side?

"T is he, our brother — in the view  
    Of Him who died to free  
His children, of whatever hue,  
    From sin's captivity.  
Not to the children's board he comes,  
    Nor drinks the children's cup,  
But meekly feeds him on the crumbs  
    The dogs may gather up.

Ne'er may the Ethiop's dusky skin  
    A lighter shade attain,  
But One can cleanse the heart within  
    From sin's corroding stain.  
Foremost on earth we taste the bliss  
    Our Banquet here supplies,  
Nor know what station shall be his  
    When feasting in the skies.

SAMUEL BATCHELDER, JR., *circa 1856.*

Finally, at the venerable age of ninety-two, Darby Vassall was accorded the honor he had so long anticipated, and under circumstances of solemnity and publicity which he never could have dared to picture in his fondest dreams. On the afternoon of October 15, 1861, the old slave was duly interred in the Vassall tomb. The service took place precisely one hundred years from the day the church was formally dedicated under the auspices of his father's master, and in the midst of the elaborate observances marking that centennial; during the first feverish excitement, too, of that

titanic struggle that was to abolish all slavery. Such a combination of circumstances made the poor negro's funeral a memorable occasion.<sup>1</sup> Among the notable gathering were such well-known medical men as Morrill Wyman and Oliver Wendell Holmes, for the opportunity was taken to examine and identify the remains already in the vault.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterward, by order of the city authorities, it was permanently sealed,<sup>3</sup> and with it the last chapter in the story of Henry Vassall.

[The concluding portion of this paper, on certain uses of the Vassall house during the Revolution, will appear in the next volume of these *Publications*.]

<sup>1</sup> See the *Boston Traveller*, October 16, 1861; *Cambridge Chronicle*, October 19, 1861, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "The vault contained nine coffins. The upper one of a row of three on the north side contained as indicated by the plate the remains of Catherine Graves Russell, died Sep. 5, 1847. The one below it, somewhat decayed, contained the remains of a woman, supposed to be the wife of Colonel Vassall, died in 1800. The lower coffin held the remains of a man, doubtless Colonel Vassall, its appearance and position seeming to indicate its priority in the vault. On the south side were the coffins of four young children and two adults. Of the four, all were considerably broken and decayed. Scarcely any remains were perceptible — merely a few detached bones. The largest might have been that of a child two years old, and was in the best preservation. The one that seemed to be the oldest was marked with nail-heads 'E.R., BORN & DIED JAN. 27, 1770' . . . In this coffin were noticed a number of cherry stones, the kernels eaten out by some mouse which had carried them thither, secure of a safe retreat. The upper of the two large coffins on which these small ones rested contained the bones of a man over forty-five years of age. The lower limbs were covered thick with hay, seeming to indicate transportation. No clue was obtained to the person of the occupant. [Undoubtedly Lieutenant Brown. See post.] The remains in the lower coffin were supposed to be those of Mrs. Russell, wife of Dr. Charles Russell, died in 1802." Harris, *Vassalls of New England*, 13, n.

<sup>3</sup> After discussing the question at several meetings, the parish, to avoid possible legal complications with the descendants of the owners of the tomb, petitioned the Cambridge aldermen, and obtained from them an order dated April 5, 1865, that it should be "permanently closed." The entrance at the west end was bricked up, a slate slab placed against it bearing the original proprietor's name (misspelled), the stone steps which led down to it were removed, and the slope filled in level with the rest of the cellar floor. Parish Records, vol. 2, *passim*, especially page 294.

## APPENDIX A

[From *Middlesex Probate Files*, No. 23336, Old Series]

Inventory of the Real & Personnall Estate belonging to Henry Vassall late of Cambridge Esqr Deceas'd —

House Lands Stables &c. . . . . . . . . . . £1000 0 0

*In the Best Room*

1 Large pier Glasf £5.	2 Sconce Ditto 6.6.8	2 Large & 6 small Chairs £3	Jappan Tea Table 12/	12	14	13	8
3 Family Pictures £3.	Nine Enameld Cups & Saucers	6 Coffe Cups	Bowl &c. on the Tea Table £1	12	4	0	0

*In the Clofitt*

11 China Dishes 27 Enameld plates	4 Burnt China 6 Bowls & plates	6 Images 2 China Mugs	2 Glasf Cups 5 Beer Glasf	1 Salver 1 pair Branch Candlesticks	1 Doz <sup>n</sup> Wash Hand Glasfes	6 Saucers pick'd	23 Glasf Bucketts 15 Wine Glasses	2 Doz <sup>n</sup> Jelly Ditto	1 Tray 2 Decanter	12	9	7	8
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*In the Boffatt*

3 China Bowls 13 China plates	2 Dishes China	Tray 7 Cups & Saucers	Wash Hand Bason	Glasf Salver	12	4	8	8
Turkey Carpett	12	1	6	8				

*In the Blue Room*

1 Sconce £5	2 large & 4 small Chairs £2.8	1 Tea Table belongs to Mrs. Russel £1.10	12	8	18	0
1 Round Table 6/8 Brads And Irons 10/	12	1	16	8		

*In the Clofitt*

40 plates some broke of Different China £2.13.4	2 Doz <sup>n</sup> & ½ Blue & White China £1.12	12	4	5	4
4 pickled plates 5/	2 Delph Fruit Basketts 4/	2 Stone Ditto 4/	12	18	4
3 Delph punch Bowls 8/	4 China 3 Broke 17/4	12	2	7	8
Glasfes in y <sup>e</sup> Clofitt £1 6.8	Baskett 5/	3 Scollop Shells 4/			
3 China Dishes one broke 12/	12	12			

*In the Boffatt*

1 Doz <sup>n</sup> China plates £1.6.8	punch Bowl 13/4	Stone Turine & Dish 8/	Stone pickled pott 6/	12	2	14	0
1 Doz <sup>n</sup> Large & Small Blue & White China Dishes £2	Glasf in y <sup>e</sup> Boffatt 18/	Jappan Salver 2/8	Grotto 4/	12	3	4	8

*In the Keeping Room*

2 Sconce Glasses £3.6.8	Marble Table £2.13.4	One large & one small mehogny Table £2 . . . . .	8 0 0
2 Round Straw Bottom'd Chairs 6/8	Eight Old Leather Bottom'd Chairs £1.4	Mr Sherly picture 2/8 . . . . .	1 13 4
Rum Case 10/	And Irons Shovel & Tongs 14/8	pair of Large Tongs 6/8 prospective Glas 8/ . . . . .	1 19 4
Old Carpit 4/	Old Plate & Knife Baskett with 6 Buck handled Knives & forks 6/	Old Plate & Knife Baskett with 6 Buck handled Knives & forks 6/ . . . . .	0 10 0

*In the Clofitt*

9 Stone Dishes 8/	Doz <sup>n</sup> Stone plates 6/	Jelly Glasses 1/	Ten Wire Glasses & Baskett 6/8	Earthen pitcher 1/ . . . . .	1 2 8
parcel Broken Glas & China mended 4/	Tobacco Tongs /8 hatchet & mallet for Sugar /6	small Scive /2	Glafs mustard pott 1/4	Glasfs for Vinegar & Oyl /4	3 Salts 1/4
Cork puller /4	Glafs Candlestick & Delph Bowl 1/6	. . . . .	Glafs Candlestick & Delph Bowl 1/6	. . . . .	0 4 10
Cloaths Brush 1/	small Decanter 2/	14 China Plates £1	Cloaths Brush 1/	small Decanter 2/	1 3 0

*In the Little Entry*

6 Leather Bucketts	1 Glasf Lanthorn	£1.15	. . . . .	1 15 0
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*In the Little Room*

Old Sconce Glas £1.16	Doz <sup>n</sup> Candle moulds £1	three Guns £3	silver hilted sword £2.	three Guns £3	7 16 0
Mourning Sword 5/	Hanger 18/	Red Housing 8/	small Dish 8/	Chequer Board 3/	2 2 0
Case of Mathamatical Instruments 8/	Shaving Box & Rasors 6/	Tools & Broken thing in y <sup>e</sup> Clositt 8/	Tools & Broken thing in y <sup>e</sup> Clositt 8/	. . . . .	1 2 0

*In the Kitchen*

Copper Stew pan £1.4	Dutch Oven £1	Four large & small Bell mettled Skillets £1.10	. . . . .	3 14 0	
Old Copper Ladle 4/	Fish Kittle Old 12/	Two Copper potts for meat £2.10	Four Iron 2 large 2 small 6/	. . . . .	3 12 0
2 Iron Skillets 2/	Two Iron Dish Kitchens 1/4	Iron Tea Kettle one old Copper one 6/	three Grind Irons 10/	. . . . .	0 19 4
2 Frying pans 8/	Toast Iron 1/4	Chaffing Dish 1/	three And Irons 8/	Fender /8	1 3 0
Jack £2.8	2 large spits 8/	Tongs & peal 4/	Candlesticks 7/	Flower Box 1/	3 8 0
2 large spits 8/	small Ditto 1/	Six Broken Brass	Lamp 3/	. . . . .	3 8 0
Coffa pott 5/	three Tin Dish & One plate Cover 4/	Tin Graters 1/	Scales & Weights £1	. . . . .	1 10 0
plate Rack 3/	Tin Fender 12/	Six Old Straw bottom'd Chairs 8/	Iron Spider 2/	Rolingpin 1/	1 9 0
Old Table 3/	Trays & Meal Trough 3/	Marble morter 15/	Seven Trammels 7/	Copper Fountain £1.8	3 8 0
Meal Chest 4/	Meal Chest 4/	Eight Cloaths Basketts 18/	Meal Chest 4/	pair Flat Irons Old 1/	0 11 6

Iron Box & 3 Grates 1/6	4 Old Chairs 1/	And Irons & Tongs	
6/ Old Bedstead & Table leaves 12/	.	.	.
			1 0 6

*In The Marble Chamber*

Blue Harrateen Bed & Curtains £2.8	Easy Chairs £1.16	fix	
setting Chairs £4.16	.	.	.
Dressing Table belongs to Mrs Russel	.	.	
Dressing Glass £1.4	three Cushions for Windows 12/	3 Glass	
Lamps £1.10	2 Carpets 16/	.	.
Feather Bed Bolster & pillows 5 <sup>ld</sup> @ 1/6 is £4	Bedstead 6/		4 2 0
8 pair Blanketts £4.6.8	.	.	8 12 8
4 Rugs £1.10	Small Feather Bed 6 <sup>ld</sup>	£3.6.8	4 16 8

*In the Green Chamber*

Green Harrateen Bed & Curtains £1.8	Old Easy Chair 6/	fix	
setting Chairs £2.8	Dressing Table 16/	.	.
Dressing Glass 18/	Feather Bed Bolster & pillows 6 <sup>ld</sup>	£3.12	Bed-
Bedstead £1	small Table 5/	And Irons 4/	5 19 0

*In the Cedar Chamber*

Green Harrateen Bed & Curtains Old 12/	2 mehogony Desks		
£4.10	Medicine Box 12/	Table £1.4	.
Feather Bed Bolster & pillows 6 <sup>ld</sup>	£4.	Mattras Bed 12/	Bedstead
12/ Large Trunk 12/	3 old Chairs 8/	.	.
6 Old Carpets 12/	portmantle Trunk 10/	small Scales &	
Weights 16/	Counterpin £1.4/	.	3 2 0
Wash Hand Basin & Chamber pott	.	.	0 0 1

*In the Little Chamber*

Old Linnin Bed & Curtains 8/	Bed Bolster & pillows 5 <sup>ld</sup>	£3.6.8	
Bedstead 6/	2 Old Chairs 2/	Trunk 12/	.
Allarbaster Image 1/6	small Looking Glass 4/	Great Chair 8/	4 14 8
6 Cushions 9/	4 stone Chamber pott 1/	.	1 3 6

*In the Entry Chamber*

Small Bed Bolster & pillow £2.5	Bedstead 6/	.	.
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*In the Kitchen Chamber*

Bedstead 12/	2 Feather Beds	Bolsters 1 pillow 1 <sup>ld</sup> 2	£6.10	
Old Desk & Book Case £1.10	Old Desk 6/	.	.	8 18 0
Old Dressing Table 10/	4 old Chairs 1/4	small Looking Glass 3/	pair Dogs 3/	1 5 0
4 old Chairs 1/4	1/4	small	Old Tongs & Shovel 2/8	
1/4	1/4	Looking	Warming pan 5/	

*In the Entry*

Mchogony Table £1.4	34 Great & small pictures	£1.14	.	.
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*On the Stair Case*

33 Great & small Glass pictures £2.8	51 Great & small pictures	£6	
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8 8 0

*In the Chamber Entry*

28 Great & small pictures £1.12.6 . . . . .	1 12 6
22 Damask Table Cloath @ 10/- is £11.14.8 16 Old & Other Damask Napkins @ 2/- is £1.12 . . . . .	13 6 8
12 Diaper Napkins @ 1/6 is 18/- 12 Old Diaper Table Cloaths £1.10 9 pair old Holland Sheets @ 13/4 is £6 . . . . .	8 8 0
2 pair of small Holland Sheets @ 12/- is £1.4 3 pair & one Sheet old @ 16/- is £2.16 . . . . .	4 0 0
2 pair of New Cotton Linen Sheets @ 10/- is £1 2 pair & small Ditto @ 8/4 is £1.5 . . . . .	2 5 0
3 pair of Old Cotton Linnin Ditto £1.10 24 old pillow Cases 8/- .	1 18 0
Best pewter 10 <sup>lb</sup> @ 1/6 is £7.17.6 Old pewter 70 <sup>lb</sup> @ 1/- is £3.10	11 7 6
4 Bras Kitchens 9 <sup>lb</sup> £4.17.2 . . . . .	4 17 2
Crimson Velvet Furnature for Horse £6 Green Ditto Cloath old £1.4 Saddle 18/- . . . . .	8 2 0

*In the Stable*

pair of Horses Old £12 Coach with Harness £12 Chariott £50 Chaise with Harness £5.6.8 . . . . .	79 6 8
Old Harness 3/- Curricles Carrage 12/- Chaise Body 12/- Old Chaise Body 6/- Old Curricles Harness 6/- . . . . .	1 19 0
2 pair of Old Holsters 1/6 Garden Enjine Hose £1.4 Old Wheels for y <sup>e</sup> Coach £1.4 . . . . .	2 9 6
pair Joints 1/- Crofs Cutt Saw 8/- 2 Old Saddles 4/- Old Saddle 4/- . . . . .	0 17 0

*In the Cellar*

Large Copper £8 2 Iron Trivets 9/- 6 Old Wash Tubs 3/- Dumb Betty 1/- 2 Cyder Barrels 4/- sundry Cract & Broke stone potts on y <sup>e</sup> Stair way 5/- 1 Grofs of Bottles in fots £1.6.8	1 11 8
1 Case of Large Bottles £1.12 52 Bottles Great & small with Old Cases 15/- 3 Juggs & Jarr 13/- . . . . .	3 0 0
Copper Funnell £1.10 Whole & Broken Juggs 4/- 9 Doz <sup>n</sup> & ½ Quart Bottles £1 . . . . .	2 14 0
14 Old Cask £1.4 Sand Bin 8/- . . . . .	1 12 0

*Servants*

Tony £13.6.8 Dick £6.13.4 James £4.0 . . . . .	60 0 0
Dorrenda £12 Auber [? Cuba] £20 . . . . .	32 0 0
Servants Beds & Beding £1.12 . . . . .	1 12 0
Rolling Stone & Garden Tools £1.4 6 Old Chairs in y <sup>e</sup> Summer House 8/- . . . . .	1 12 0

*Plate*

2 Cans 2 salt spoons 24 Ounces Tankerd 34 2 Butler Cups 16 1/2 small Salver 5 <sup>oz</sup> Candlesticks 2 1/2 <sup>oz</sup> Coffa pott 46 <sup>oz</sup> Tea- pott 19 <sup>oz</sup> 4 Salts 10 1/2 Cream pott 5 3/4 Tea Kettle 43 <sup>oz</sup> stand
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for Ditto 23 3/4	Chaffing Dish 24 1/2	Chaffing Dish 21 1/2	2 por-	
19 1/4	6 spoons 14	Salver 16	3 Large & 1 Small	
spoon 17 1/4	punch strainer 5	Snuffers & Stand	2 small salt	
Tea Finger 11 1/2	stand with Casters 6 1/4	1 Doz <sup>n</sup>		
Tea spoons & strainer 6	small Ditto pepper Box	punch	Ladle large spoon 15 oz	porringer 4 spoons 17 1/2
Desert spoons & Forks 32	Handles for Desert Knives 15		1 Doz	1 Doz Great spoons y <sup>e</sup> Handles for Knives & Forks 76 1/2
Marrow spoon 1 Ounc & 1/2				
The Amount of the whole plate is Six Hundred Ounces @				
6/8 oz . . . . .			is	200 0 0
Case for Knives & Forks £3.6.8	2 Glafs Cruett & Salts 6/	Case		
Case for y <sup>e</sup> Desert Knives & Forks £1.10				5 2 8
Case of Desert Knives & Forks £1.8	Calabash Tipt with Silver 3/			
Gold Whater £13.6.8	5 Labels 4/			
1 pair of Horse Nitts £2	1 Hammock £1.8	Carpett £1.10		15 1 8
Old Knive & Fork 7 Ounces @ 6/8 £2.6.6				7 4 6
				£1671 2 3

*Books<sup>1</sup>*

Chambers Dict: 2 Vols £2	Bailey Ditto 6/8	Hist. of Religion		
2 Vols 18/	Tacitus Eng <sup>d</sup> 2 Vols 8/		3 12	8
Pridieux Connect: 2 Vol 18/	Trial of y <sup>e</sup> Earl of Macclesfield 2/		1 12	0
Tillotsons Sermons 3 vol 12/	. . . . .			
Survey of y <sup>e</sup> Globe 1/4	Bentivollio & Urinia province Laws			
Tempy Ditto	Grotius Countefs pembroke 4/		0 5	4
Bible 6/	Collect of Voyages 4 Vols. £1	Quincy Dispensatory 4/		
Method with y <sup>e</sup> Deist 2/	Gents Instruct <sup>r</sup> 2/		1 14	0
Hist of W <sup>m</sup> Stevens 1/6	5 Vol Clarendon Hist. of y <sup>e</sup> Rebellion			
first misfing 5/	Lock on Human Understanding 8/		0 14	6
Vindication of y <sup>e</sup> Deffence of Xanthy 2 Vol 6/8	Short way Teach-			
Languages /8	ing y <sup>e</sup> Languages 5 Vols Roman His by Eachad 5/		0 12	4
pridiaux Life of Mahomet 1/	Bulls Sermons 4 Vols 4/	Bland		
Disipline 1/	Hist Revolution of portugal 1/6		0 6	6
Hamilton Acct of East Ind: 2 Vol 3/	Life of Marlbro 2 Vol 12/			
1.3. & 4 Vol Rollin Bell Lett 5/	Dio Xian Rit 12/		1 2	0
Nature Displayd 3 Vol 8/	Hist of y <sup>e</sup> Turks 4 Vol 12/	Shaftbury		
Char: 3 Vol 12/	Hist of China 4 Vol 12/		2 4	0
The Prater. 1/6	Tatler 4 Vol 8/	Conduct of Married Life 3/4		
Modern Travels 4 Vol 10/8	Swift Works 13 Vol £1		2 3	6
Lydia 4 Vol 4/	Robinson Crusoe 2 Vol 2/	Comical Hist 2 Vol.		
2/8	Joshua Truman 2 Vol 2/8		0 11	4
Mirza & Fatima 1/4	Friends 2 Vol 4/	Betfy Thoughtleſs 4 Vol		
4/	S <sup>r</sup> Chas Goodville 2 Vol 3/	Hap Orphn 2/8	0 15	0

<sup>1</sup> Several of these books were contributed by Mrs. Vassall from the much smaller library of her father, Isaac Royall, Senior. See his inventory of 1741, Middlesex Probate, 19545, Old Series, where the prices rule far higher — but partly because then figured in Old Tenor. Henry Vassall added to his shelves from time to time: "1758 Jany 9th. Cash pd Books £9.10."

New Attalantis 4 Vol 8/	Miss Cadiero 4 Vol 5/	Don Quixote 5 Vol 5/	Cafsandra 4 Vol 5/	Vade Mecom 1/ . . . . .	1 4 0
Life of Mr Anderson 4/	Whicherly plays 3/	Bishop of London Sermons 2 Vol 5/	Du Clos Maners of y <sup>e</sup> Age 4/	. . . . .	0 16 0
Valet 2 Vol 4/8	Memos of Man of Quality 2 Vol 3/	West Defence of y <sup>e</sup> Resurrection 2/	Shakpear Work 10/ 8 Vol	. . . . .	0 19 8
Turkish Spy 7 Vol 14/	Spect [Spectator] 8 Vol £1	Guardian 2 Vol 5/	Rollan Anch <sup>t</sup> Hist 10 Vol £1.4	. . . . .	3 3 0
Free Holder 1/6	Anti Gallican 3/	Travel of Cyrus 2/	Cleopatra 8 Vol 16/	Stage Coach 1/ . . . . .	1 3 6
Betsy Barns 4/8	Conver <sup>r</sup> Moral Enter: 1/6	Fortunate Country Maid 2 Vol 4/8	Life of Cleavland 9/4	. . . . .	1 0 2
Mr <sup>s</sup> Bh <sup>n</sup> plays 4 Vol 6/	Agreable Ugliness 1/	Hist of Pilgram 2/8 Venetian Tales 1/	Ecep <sup>d</sup> Gaz <sup>r</sup> 1/ . . . . .	. . . . .	0 11 8
Miramaga 2/7	Gays Fables 3/	Chas <sup>s</sup> Osberns Esq <sup>r</sup> 1/6	Tele- machus 3/ Tales of y <sup>e</sup> Faries 8/	. . . . .	0 18 1
Love Letters 1/4	Hayward Nov <sup>ls</sup> 4 Vol 4/	Otway plays 4/	Wm Bingfield 2/ . . . . .	. . . . .	0 11 4
Lord Landown Works 3 Vol 5/	Hist of Scot Familly 6/	Rigester 1756/6 Chyne English Malady 4/	Roderick Random 3 Vol. 3/ . . . . .	. . . . .	0 13 0
True Merit True Happines 2 Vol 4/	Female Quixote 2 Vol 4/8	Pertian Tales 3 Vol 6/	Hist of Young Lady of Distin 2 vol 4/	. . . . .	0 18 8
Josepha Andrews 2 Vol 4/	Lovers 1/ Peter Wilkins 2 Vol 5/	Lucy Villiers 2 Vol 5/	Farquhar play 2 Vol 4/ . . . . .	. . . . .	1 9 0
Modern Adventures 2 Vol 5/	1. 2 4 & 5 vol of David Simple 11/ Chineſe Tales 2 <sup>d</sup> vol 1/ Dicky Gotham & Doll Clod 2 <sup>d</sup> Vol 2/ . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 19 0
Advent of Count Fathom 1 <sup>t</sup> Vol 2/	Congreave plays 3 Vol 4/ 1 <sup>t</sup> vol of Persian Letters 1/4 Ditto of Telemichus 3/ . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 10 4
Adventures of Capt Greenland 4 Vol 9/4	1. & 3 Vol. of Pervian Tales 2/8 Select Novals 9 Vol 6/ Humerest 1 <sup>t</sup> Vol. 1/ 1 <sup>t</sup> Vol of mogul Tales 1/ Ditto of Select Novels 1/ 2 <sup>d</sup> vol of popes Works 1/ Scotch Marine /6 2 <sup>d</sup> Vol of y <sup>e</sup> Parish Girl 4/	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 19 0
Jack Conner 2 Vol 4/	Harriet Stewart 2 Vol 4/ 2 <sup>d</sup> Vol Female Foundling 1/6 1 & 2 Vol Le Bell Afsembly 2/8 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 7 6
1 & 3 Vol Religious Philosopher 4/ 2 <sup>d</sup> Vol of Ditto 1/ 1 <sup>t</sup> Vol of Canterbury Tales 2/ Bradley Compleat Body Husbandry 3/	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 12 2
1 <sup>t</sup> Vol of Mortames Art of Husbandry 1/ Ditto of Luis 14 <sup>th</sup> 2/ 7 <sup>th</sup> Vol Life of Queen Ann 2/ Bradly Anch <sup>t</sup> Husbandry 2/ 1 <sup>t</sup> vol of Modern Husbandry 1/ 2 <sup>d</sup> vol Hist of Jews 1/ 2 <sup>d</sup> vol Epistle for Ladys 2/ Life of St Ignatius 2/ Shirlock on Death 1/ . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 10 0
Compleat French Master 1/ Hist of y <sup>e</sup> World 1/ present state of Britain 1/ Ditto 1/ Telemachus French 6 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 7 0
Crofflin Anamadverfions on y <sup>e</sup> Talmud /1 Adventures of Gile Blas 4 Vol. 5/ 1.2.3. & 6 Vol Arabian Nights Enter 4/ . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 5 2
Adventures of Mr Lovel 2/ Leonora Female Quixote & Otway broken Voll 2/ . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	0 4 6
					0 9 1
					0 4 0

£1705 11 3



HENRY VASSALL'S BOOKPLATE

(Slightly enlarged)

This very scarce plate is almost unknown to collectors. It was discovered in the "library" of Christ Church, Boston, in a copy of the rare work *Defense of the Christian Religion*, printed at London in 1748, "to be distributed in His Majesty's Colonies & Islands in America."

See page 35, n.



We the Subscribers Appointed by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sam<sup>ll</sup> Danforth have Appriz'd the Above Inventory belonging to the <sup>sd</sup> Henry Vassall Esqr Decea'd

Sepr. 8. 1769. Dr Russel (one of the admin<sup>rs</sup>) exhibited the foregoing Inventory on Oath  
Sepr 30<sup>th</sup> 1769 M<sup>rs</sup> Penelope Vassall the other  
admin<sup>rs</sup> made oath to the same Inventory —  
S. DANFORTH J. prob.

HENRY PRENTICE  
EER<sup>N</sup> STEDMAN  
EBENEZER BRADISH  
all sworn before the Judge

## APPENDIX B

[From *Middlesex Probate Files, No. 23342, Old Series*]

### Middlesex ss

An Inventory of the Personal Estate whereof Penelope Vassall Late of Cambridge In the County of Middlesex who fled from her Habitation to the Enemies of this State: was Seisd in the aforesd County, taken by us the Subscribers Appointed By the Hon<sup>bl</sup> John Winthrop Esq Judge of Probate of wills &c for Said County as the Same was Shewn us by William How appointed Agent to the Same Estate by the aforesd Judge

to one Chariot £100	one Iron Barr 37/	. . . . .	101 "	17 "	0	
one pair Large handirons 52/	one Small Do 34/	. . . . .	4 "	6 "	0	
one trivit 58/	Some old harnis 24/	. . . . .	4 "	2 "	0	
one pair Shears 12/	oldiron 36/	one Box 24/	. . . . .	3 "	12 "	0
one wicker Basket 12/	one hamper with lumber 10/	. . . . .	1 "	2 "	0	
one tinn fender 60/	two old Safhes £5	. . . . .	8 "	0 "	0	
three bee hives 30/	two Buckets 36/	. . . . .	3 "	6 "	0	
five Canvis pictures 90/	fifteen Large Do. £6.15	. . . . .	11 "	5 "	0	
Eighteen D <sup>o</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 2 72/	thirteen D <sup>o</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 3 40/	. . . . .	5 "	12 "	0	
Sixteen Small Do 40/	four Glas D <sup>o</sup> 48/	. . . . .	4 "	8 "	0	
nineteen gilt D <sup>o</sup> 76/	one Glas Lanthorn 45	. . . . .	6 "	1 "	0	
one marble table £9	one plate grate 48/	. . . . .	11 "	8 "	0	
two Large Canisters 12/	part of two Cargeris £24	. . . . .	24 "	12 "	0	
one Churn 18/	one Large picture 20/	. . . . .	1 "	18 "	0	
one negro man Named toney	. . . . .					

CAMBRIDGE June y<sup>e</sup> 24. 1778

AARON HILL

W<sup>m</sup> GAMAGE

THOS<sup>s</sup> BARRETT

MIDDLESEX 11 Jany 1779 Exhibited upon Oath by the Agent WILLIAM HOWE,  
before me J WINTHROP J. Prob —

MISS ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW read an account of the Longfellow House and the people who had dwelt within it. The paper is withheld from publication for the present.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Batchelder and to Miss Longfellow, and the meeting was dissolved.

## THE THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on the 27th day of April, 1915, at 7.45 o'clock in the evening, in Agassiz House Theatre, Radcliffe College.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY announced the gift of photographs of the portraits of Rev. Nathaniel Appleton and Mrs. Appleton in Memorial Hall.<sup>1</sup>

HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY then read a paper on

THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN  
CAMBRIDGE*Introduction*

THE history of the church beginnings in New England is a large part of the history of the settlement of the colonies themselves.

New England was settled for three reasons: the first and most potent one, the establishment of churches where the colonists could worship God in their own way; the second, the attainment of civil and industrial liberty; and the third, the conversion of the Indians.

A town without a church was something that was not thought of and was not allowable. The voters were to be church members, which implies the existence of a church. A church could exist without a pastor, and this happened from time to time in many cases.

<sup>1</sup> These portraits are now hung in the Treasure Room of the Widener Memorial Library of Harvard College.

*Plymouth*

When the Pilgrim Fathers settled at Plymouth in 1620 their pastor, the Rev. John Robinson, with a majority of his congregation, remained in Holland, and he died before he could carry out his intention of joining the colony. From 1620 until 1629 the church at Plymouth continued without a pastor, being under the guidance of a ruling elder, William Brewster. In 1629 Mr. Ralph Smith became the pastor at Plymouth, but was not satisfactory and soon resigned.

The church at Plymouth dates its beginning from 1620, with the addition "founded at Scrooby England 1606."

*Salem*

In 1628, when a colony at Naumkeag, now Salem, was begun, the Rev. Francis Higginson, an eminent Puritan preacher and school teacher, was invited to go there. In 1629 he accepted the invitation and was accompanied or followed by two other ministers, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Bright. Mr. Skelton was elected as pastor and Mr. Higginson as teacher or associate.

The proper way of proceeding in the settling of a pastor was at this time a matter of some doubt and difficulty.

There were no precedents to guide them. They accordingly turned for advice to the settlers at Plymouth, and Mr. Fuller, one of the deacons of the church at Plymouth, gave his assistance.

One thing was deemed to be necessary, viz., that those who intended to be of the church should enter into a covenant to walk together according to the word of God. The election of a minister or ministers was to be by the people. A day of fasting and prayer was set apart for consideration and decision. At Salem thirty persons owned the covenant, as the phrase was. Delegates or messengers were invited to come from Plymouth to attend the installation.

The church thus begun at Salem still continues and dates its beginning from 1629.

*Boston*

In the summer of 1630 the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony — John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet — and their families and associates, several hundred in number, arrived at Charlestown, bringing with them the charter which defined their rights and duties. They landed first at Salem, which they found suffering from famine and sickness, over eighty having died.

Boston harbor was explored and Charlestown was selected as the place for the first settlement. Already a great house was there, built by a Mr. Graves and his servants, who were sent over by the Company the year previous. Winthrop and Dudley and some others used this as a residence for a time, and it was later used as the meeting house from 1633 to 1636.

The settlers at Charlestown were already suffering from hunger and sickness and many were dying. July 30, 1630, was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer. The colonists had brought with them the Rev. John Wilson, who like Winthrop came from Suffolk County. At the close of the religious exercises, which were probably held under the branches of a tree, the following church covenant was signed by Winthrop, Dudley, Bradstreet, and many others, men and women.

*Church Covenant*

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in Obedience to His holy will and Divine Ordinance —

We whose names are hereunder written, being by His most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusetts and desirous to unite ourselves into one congregation or Church under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy Presence) Promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel and in all sincere Conformity to his holy Ordinances and in mutual love and respect each to the other so near as God shall give us grace.

It was nearly a month later, on August 27, 1630, that the church organization was completed. On that day a fast was

held and Mr. Wilson was chosen as teacher, Mr. Nowell as elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall as deacons. The minister was ordained with the laying on of hands, but only as a sign of election and confirmation.

It has been said that all the Congregational churches of America have taken their form of organization from that used on this occasion in Charlestown.

The church thus organized has continued, and is now called the First Church in Boston. It dates its beginning from 1630.

The sickness among the colonists at Charlestown was so great and the deaths so numerous that Winthrop, who was governor, and the greater part of the church removed across the river to Boston and settled there. Those who remained at Charlestown continued as members of the Boston church until October, 1632, when those at Charlestown became a church separate from Boston, and Mr. James was chosen as pastor. In 1630 other churches were organized, among them one at Dorchester and one at Watertown.

### *Cambridge*

It was not until December 28, 1630, that it was decided to locate a settlement at New Town, now Cambridge, and to build houses there the following year. It is by reason of this decision that the city of Cambridge dates its beginning from 1630.

It did not really exist except on paper until 1631, when Dudley, Bradstreet, and a few others built houses and went there to live. Governor Winthrop had promised to go there and live, and went so far as to begin to build, but changed his mind and built at Boston, which caused some hard feeling between Dudley and himself.

The first mention of anything in the way of a church at New Town or Cambridge that I have found is a statement in Winthrop's Diary that "the ministers afterwards for an end of the difference between the Governor and Deputy [i.e., between Winthrop and Dudley] ordered that the governor should procure them a minister at New Town and contribute somewhat towards his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the deputy toward his charges in building there twenty pounds." This apparently was in 1631. The number

who settled at New Town in 1631 probably did not exceed eight persons and their families. In February, 1632, it was decided that New Town should be fortified with a palisade or stockade, the expense of which should be borne by the twelve towns then existing in the colony.

In August, 1632, New Town became a place of some size. A company had come from Braintree in Essex County, England, and had begun to settle at Mount Wollaston. By order of the court they were required to remove to New Town. There were some twenty families in this company. Their coming increased the number in New Town to about forty families. This number was increased somewhat by 1633. It will be noted that only half of the inhabitants were of the Braintree Company.

The autumn of 1632 was a time of much building in the little settlement. Besides the houses required for the members of the Braintree Company, it is a matter of record that a meeting house was built and was ready for use in December, 1632. It was situated at the corner of what are now Mount Auburn and Dunster streets. As Dudley and Bradstreet in 1630 were members of the church in Boston, it is probable that they and other settlers in Cambridge in 1631 and 1632, before the meeting house was built, may have attended church in Boston.

In the spring of 1631 the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the minister of the church in Boston, went to England for a visit. He recommended to his congregation the exercise of prophecy during his absence and designated Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell the elder as most fit for this service.

As the meeting house at New Town was ready for use in December, 1632, and there was no settled minister until October, 1633, it seems probable that church services were held, as they had been at Plymouth and in Boston, without the assistance of an ordained minister. Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradstreet may have exercised prophecy, as it was termed.

The Braintree Company so called, which settled in New Town in August, 1632, has also been called "Hooker's Company." The reason for this is not stated. Braintree was some twenty-five miles distant from Chelmsford in England, where Mr. Hooker was settled before he was compelled to flee to Holland, so that the Braintree people as a body could not well have been members

of his church or congregation in England. But as I shall state a little later, Mr. Hooker's fame as a Puritan preacher extended to all parts of Essex County in England, and his services were earnestly desired.

The invitation which was sent to Mr. Hooker by the settlers in Cambridge must have been extended not merely by the members of the so-called Braintree Company, but also by the more prominent men in the town, such as Dudley and Bradstreet and others of the original settlers. The invitation was a very cordial one, and, as Mr. Hooker was not pleased with the condition of religious affairs in Holland, was accepted by him. He was authorized to select someone to come with him as an assistant and made choice of Mr. Samuel Stone, a young man then settled at Towcester.

#### *Cambridge Town Records*

The first book of Cambridge town records gives one glimpse of church affairs prior to the coming of Mr. Hooker. This record is as follows:

The 24th of December 1632 Ann Agreement made by a Generall Consent for a monthly meeting.

Impr, that Every person under subscribed shall (meet) Every first Monday in Every Mounth within (the) meeting house in the Afternoone within half (an) ouer after the ringing of the bell and that every (one) that make not his personall appearance there (and) continews ther without leave from (the beginning) untill the meeting bee Ended shall for(feit for each) default XII d, and if it be not paid before (the next) meeting then to duble it and soe untill (paid).

Tho. Dudley      John Haynes and others

These meetings were evidently for town business and were not for lectures, like those held in Boston weekly on Thursday afternoons, which became an important part of the religious life of the people. By a vote passed December 7, 1635, these meetings were continued.

I will now give biographical sketches of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, who were shortly to become, one the pastor and the other the teacher of the First Church in Cambridge.

*Thomas Hooker*

Thomas Hooker was born in the little hamlet of Marfield in Leicestershire, England, in the year 1586. He was baptized in the parish church, an interesting picture of which is given in the history of the First Church in Hartford, Connecticut. The Hooker family, judging from entries upon the parish register, was of some note.

Marfield was in the parish of Tilton, and the parish church stood on the hill at Tilton. It was built in the twelfth century and contained interesting monuments and effigies of crusaders and others, calculated to awaken the interest and stimulate the imagination of a boy as intelligent as Hooker.

When about thirteen years old he was sent to a preparatory school at Market Bosworth, where he was fitted for the university. While he was there Queen Elizabeth died and James of Scotland came to the English throne as the first of the Stuart kings.

Hooker was about eighteen years old when he entered Queens College at Cambridge in 1604. Before very long he was transferred to Emmanuel, where he received the degree of A.B. in 1608 and three years later, in 1611, the degree of A.M. Here, then, at Cambridge Hooker was a student for at least seven years and probably remained as a fellow for some years more.

Cambridge during these years was the centre of Puritanism, and Hooker must have known John Cotton, who was a student and lecturer at Emmanuel College and was destined like Hooker to play later a leading part in the life of New England. It was just when Hooker was taking his degree of A.B. in 1608 that John Robinson and his Scrooby church went into exile in Holland for conscience' sake.

It was while Hooker was a fellow at Cambridge that his religious convictions became fixed and his inclinations turned to the ministry. A rector was wanted at Esher, a small place south of London, and Mr. Hooker received the appointment. The patron of the living was a Mr. Drake. Mr. Hooker was described to him as a great scholar, an acute disputant, a strong, wise, modest man, and in every way fully qualified for the place.

Mr. Hooker lived with Mr. Drake, and it was an important part of his work to act as spiritual adviser to Mrs. Drake, who

apparently was of a melancholy disposition. It is stated that she was marvellously delighted with Mr. Hooker's new method of stating things. But a matter of more importance to Mr. Hooker was his meeting with Mrs. Drake's waiting woman or companion, named Susannah, and making her his wife.

About 1625 Mr. Hooker accepted a call as lecturer in connection with the church of St. Mary's at Chelmsford in Essex, of which the Rev. Dr. Michaelson was the rector. These lectureships were an outgrowth of the Puritan movement and were the means of gaining a more efficient preaching service. The system was finally broken up by Archbishop Laud in 1633, who denounced the lecturers as most dangerous enemies of the state.

The noble old church of St. Mary at Esher, a venerable Gothic structure of great antiquity, was for about three years the scene of Mr. Hooker's public labors. His ministrations made a wide and profound impression. People flocked to hear him "and some of great quality among the rest." Chief of these was the Earl of Warwick, who afterwards sheltered and befriended Mr. Hooker's family when he was forced to flee the country. A letter written in 1629 by the vicar of Braintree to Laud's chancellor says:

Since my return from London I have spoken with Mr. Hooker but I have small hope of prevailing with him. . . . All men's ears are now filled with ye obstreperous clamours of his followers against my Lord [i.e., Archbishop Laud] as a man endeavouring to suppress good preaching and advance Popery. . . . If these jealousies be increased by a rigorous proceeding against him ye country may prove very dangerous. If he be suspended, it is the resolution of his friends to settle his abode in Essex, and maintenance is promised him in plentiful manner for the fruition of his private conference, which hath already more impeached the peace of our Church than his publique ministry.

His genius will still haunt all the pulpits in ye country where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach. . . . There be divers young ministers about us that spend their time in conference with him and return home and preach what he hath brewed. Our people's pallats grow so out of tast y't noe food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seen the people idolizing many new ministers and lecturers but this man surpasses them all for learning and some

other considerable partes, and gains more and far greater followers than all before him.

Writing again June 3, 1629, Collins, the vicar, says:

This will prove a leading case, and the issue thereof will either much incourage or discourage the regular clergie. All men's tongues, eyes, and ears in London and all the counties about London are taken up with plotting, talking, and expecting what will be the conclusion of Hooker's business.

Both of these letters conclude with advice to let Mr. Hooker get out of the way quietly.

In November, 1629, a petition was sent to Archbishop Laud in behalf of "Mr. Thomas Hooker preacher at Chelmsford." It was signed by fifty-one Essex County ministers and certified "we all esteeme and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be for doctryne orthodox, and life and conversation honest, and for his disposition peacable."

But he was forced to resign his position at Chelmsford. He first removed to a small village four miles away, called Little Baddow, where he kept a school in his own hired house. Here he had as assistant John Eliot, whose name is familiar as the Apostle to the Indians. It was while living with Mr. Hooker that Eliot was converted to religion. Eliot says:

To this place was I called through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul; for here the Lord said to my dead soul *live*; and through the grace of Christ I do live and shall live forever! When I came to this blessed family I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigor and efficacy.

But Mr. Hooker was not allowed to remain here unmolested. In 1630 he was cited to appear before the High Commission Court. He gave a bond of fifty pounds for his appearance, but with the consent of his sureties he absconded and went to Holland. The officer arrived at the seaside just too late for his arrest.

By thus fleeing he doubtless escaped the fate of another non-conformist minister, who was the same year pilloried, whipped, branded, slit in the nostrils, and deprived of his ears. The ship

ran aground and was near being a wreck, but Mr. Hooker finally arrived safely in Holland.

At Amsterdam, where he remained for a short time, he was not well received. Questions were raised as to his views concerning the Brownists, and the church synod voted: "That a person standing in such opinions . . . could not with any edification be admitted to the Ministry of the English Church at Amsterdam."

Thereupon Mr. Hooker went to Delft, where he was associated for about two years with Mr. Forbes, pastor of the English church. Mather in his "*Magnalia*" speaks of the relationship which existed between Mr. Forbes and Mr. Hooker during this period as that of "one soul in two bodies." The text of Mr. Hooker's first sermon at Delft was "To you it is given not only to believe but also to suffer."

In 1632 Mr. Hooker left Delft and went to Rotterdam to become joint pastor with the celebrated Dr. William Ames over the English congregation there. He became joint author with Dr. Ames of a book entitled "*A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship*." Hooker's views are shown by the following statement contained in this book, viz., "Ecclesiastical corruptions urged and obtruded are the proper occasion for Separation."

Mr. Ames says of Mr. Hooker that, though he had been acquainted with many scholars of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching or disputing.

But the state of things in Holland was unsatisfactory to Mr. Hooker. He writes to Mr. Cotton from Rotterdam that "they content themselves with very forms though much blemished." This letter may have been a part of the negotiations which were to take Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton together to New England.

As already stated, a company from Essex, sometimes called the Braintree Company and sometimes Mr. Hooker's Company, had gone from England in 1632 to New England and settled at Mount Wollaston and later at New Town. They with the others at New Town had sent an invitation to Mr. Hooker to come and be their pastor.

And so in 1633 Mr. Hooker crossed over from Holland to England and, after a very narrow escape from arrest, with

Mr. Cotton got incognito on board the *Griffin* and sailed for New England. The identity of both was concealed until they were well out at sea. A voyage of eight weeks brought them to Boston, where they landed September 4, 1633. The monotony of the voyage was doubtless diversified, as in the case of the Salem Company, by one or two sermons or lectures daily.

With Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton came Mr. Samuel Stone and also Mr. John Haynes from Copford Hall in Essex.

### *Samuel Stone*

The Rev. Samuel Stone was born in Hertford or Hartford, a place about twenty-five miles north of London. He was baptized July 30, 1602, which makes him thirty-one years old when he reached New England. It is probable that he fitted for college in the grammar school in his native town. In 1620 he was matriculated at Emmanuel College in Cambridge University. The influences which moulded Stone's college life were essentially those which affected that of Mr. Hooker. In due course he received his degree of A.B. and in 1627 received that of A.M.

He next studied theology with the Rev. Richard Blackerby at a private school in Essex County.

In 1630 he became a Puritan lecturer at Towcester in Northamptonshire, where he went by the commendation of Mr. Thomas Shepard, who had known him in college. In 1633 Mr. Stone was invited "by the judicious Christians" that were coming to New England with Mr. Hooker to accompany them and be an assistant to Mr. Hooker. Three young men were proposed, Mr. Shepard, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Stone, but Mr. Stone was finally selected. The following incident took place, which is given as showing the ready wit of Mr. Stone. It may be stated in the language of the "Magnalia":

Returning into England in order to a further voyage he [Mr. Hooker] was quickly scented by the pursevants; who at length got so far up with him as to knock at the door of that very chamber where he was now discoursing with Mr. Stone; who was now become his designed companion and assistant for the New England enterprise. Mr. Stone was at that instant smoking of tobacco; for which Mr. Hooker had been reproving him as being then used by few persons

of sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant wit he stept into the door with his pipe in his mouth and such an air of speech and look as gave him some credit with the officer. The officer demanded whether Mr. Hlooker were not there. Mr. Stone replied with a braving sort of confidence, "What Hooker? Do you mean Hooker that lived once at Chelmsford?" The officer answered, "Yes, he!" Mr. Stone immediately with a diversion like that which once helped Athanasius made this true answer,— "If it be he you look for I saw him about an hour ago at such an house in the town; you had better hasten thither after him." The officer took this for a sufficient account and went his way.

### *The First Church in Cambridge*

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone arrived in New Town early in September, 1633. Mr. Dudley, as the leading citizen, made Mr. Hooker a member of his household until such time as he could provide himself with a house of his own. He appears to have been a man of affairs as well as a pastor, for he speedily acquired land in different parts of the town. The coming of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker was a great event in the life of the colony.

"They did clear up the order and method of church government according as they apprehended was most consonant to the Word of God," and Mr. Cotton published a treatise called "The Way of the Churches in New England." I quote from Hubbard, who, writing about 1690, adds, "After this manner have ecclesiastical affairs been carried on ever since 1633."

On October 10, 1633, or about that date Mr. Cotton was solemnly ordained as teacher of the church in Boston of which Mr. Wilson was pastor. The proceedings were conducted with fasting and prayer, and all the established forms and ceremonies were observed. There was no gathering of a new church, as the church had been organized in 1630. The church officers were increased or changed by the election of Thomas Leverett as a ruling elder and Mr. Firmin as a deacon. Mr. Leverett had come to Boston in 1633, probably with Mr. Cotton.

On the next day after this, viz., on October 11, 1633, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone in similar manner were installed at New Town, the one as pastor and the other as teacher. The exercises were doubtless in the meeting house built in 1632.

Governor Winthrop, the Rev. John Cotton, and the Rev. John Wilson, all from Boston, must have been in attendance, with many more from the surrounding towns. The event was a notable one and must have been so regarded. The accounts which we have are, however, very meagre. Winthrop says in his Diary, under date of October 11, 1633, "A fast at New Town, when Mr. Hooker was chosen Pastor and Mr. Stone teacher in such manner as before at Boston."

As it was already customary to have a ruling elder and two deacons it is probable that these officers of the church were at the time elected, but who the deacons were is a matter of conjecture. Winthrop states that William Goodwin in September, 1634, was the ruling elder at Newtown. He is thought to have been a graduate of Oxford. He arrived in New England in September, 1632. He became a man of large means and great influence and held the office of ruling elder in the church at Hartford, Connecticut.

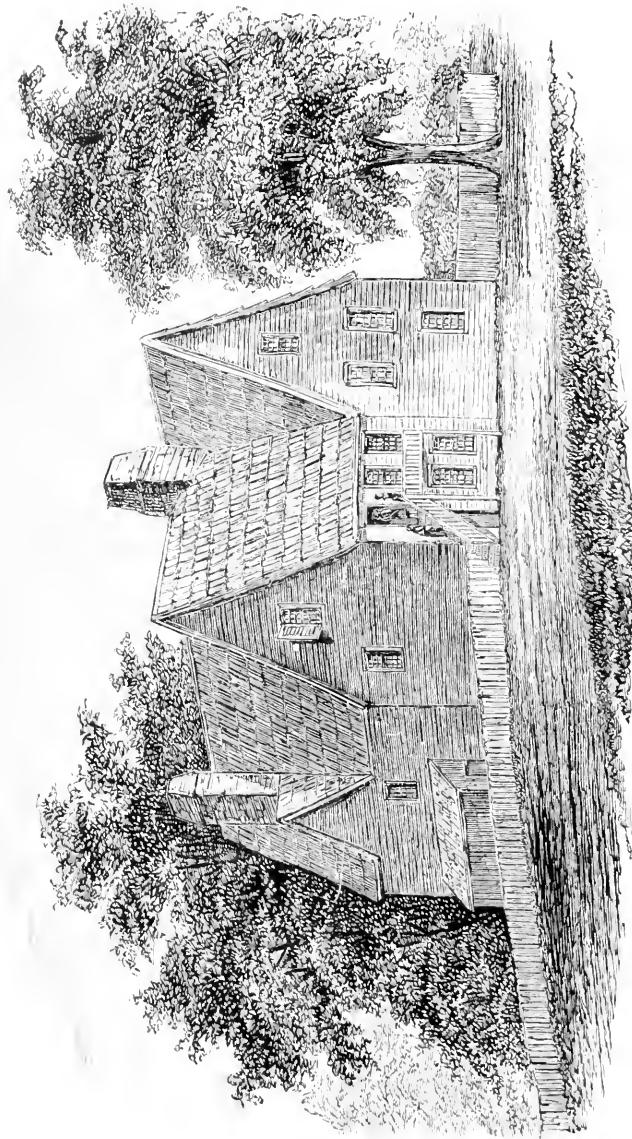
There is some reason to think that the deacons may have been Andrew Warner and John Bridge. It is certain that Andrew Warner was afterwards for many years a deacon of the church at Hartford and that John Bridge was for many years a deacon of the church at Cambridge. Just when they were elected does not clearly appear.

It is also certain that the church at Cambridge must have had a church covenant, but just what it was we do not know. It may have been similar to that adopted at Charlestown in 1630, already given. It was very likely similar to the one used by the second church in Hartford in 1670, which was as follows:

#### *Church Covenant*

Since it has pleased God in his infinite mercy to manifest himself willing to take unworthy sinners near unto himself even into covenant relation to and interest in him, to become a God to them and avouch them to be his people, and accordingly to command and encourage them to give up themselves and their children also unto him: We do therefore this day in the presence of God his holy angels and this assembly avouch the Lord Jehovah the true and living God, even God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost to be our God and give up ourselves and ours also unto him to be his subjects and





RESIDENCE OF REV. THOMAS HOOKER IN NEW TOWN, BUILT IN 1633

servants promising through grace and strength in Christ (without whom we can do nothing) to walk in professed subjection to him as our only Lord and lawgiver yielding universal obedience to his blessed will, according to what discoveries he hath made or hereafter shall make of the same to us: in special that we will seek him in all his holy ordinances according to the rules of the gospel, submitting to his government in this particular Church, and walking together therein with all brotherly love and mutual watchfulness to the building up of one another in faith and love unto his praise: all which we promise to perform the Lord helping us through all his grace in Jesus Christ.

*Pastorate of Thomas Hooker*

Savage the historian gives the following as the order in which the early churches in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were gathered:

1. Salem 1629, 6 August.
2. Dorchester 1630, June.
3. Boston 1630, 30 July.
4. Watertown 1630, 30 July.
5. Roxbury 1632, July.
6. Lynn 1632.
7. Charlestown 1632, 2 Nov.
8. Cambridge 1633, 11 Oct.
9. Ipswich 1634.

The pastorate of Thomas Hooker extended from October, 1633, to February, 1636, and possibly to May, 1636. He built a house in what is now the college yard on the site of the present Boylston Hall. I here present what I believe to be a picture of this house, which continued standing until about 1843. This picture is a most interesting one and will carry the reader back to the beginning better than any language which I can use. Copies can be obtained from Mrs. Silvio M. de Gozzaldi.

It is interesting to note that this house became the property and residence of the Rev. Thomas Shepard, and on his death was occupied by the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, who assumed not only the house, but also the widow of his predecessor.

Cambridge during the time of Mr. Hooker was the scene of a number of important events.

The General Court (or as we call it, the Legislature) of the colony met in New Town in 1634 in September and used the meeting house for its sessions. The next year also the General Court met at the meeting house in New Town, and John Haynes, Esq., a resident of New Town, was chosen governor. Mr. Haynes was at considerable expense in entertaining the members.

It is recorded that Mr. Hooker not only preached in New Town, but also in Boston, and that every other Thursday was his lecture day in New Town. It is also recorded that whenever Mr. Hooker visited Boston, which he often did, he attracted great crowds by his fervent, forcible preaching. The ill feeling between Dudley and Winthrop, already spoken of, appears to have continued; and some rivalry sprang up between Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton.

The number of colonists was rapidly increasing and the original settlements, including Boston and New Town, felt that they were much crowded. In 1633 and 1634 there was a good deal of talk in New Town among the principal citizens about going elsewhere. The matter was discussed at much length in the General Court. As a result of this feeling and this discussion it was decided in 1633 to establish a settlement at Agawam, which in 1634 was renamed Ipswich. The Rev. Thomas Parker was the first minister at Agawam, but was succeeded in 1634 by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

I speak of these things here, as the settlement of Agawam was to result in Mr. Hooker's losing three of his principal parishioners and their families. I refer to Gov. Thomas Dudley, the Hon. Simon Bradstreet, and Maj. Gen. Daniel Denison. Bradstreet and Denison were sons-in-law of Dudley, and their removal to Ipswich with their families in 1636 must have made a large gap in Mr. Hooker's congregation.

In 1634 and 1635 there was constant talk about making new settlements on the Connecticut River.

There were colonists not only in New Town, but also in Dorchester and Roxbury and Watertown, who were desirous of removing. Among these were Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone and a considerable number of their parishioners. It was finally decided in 1635, the consent of the General Court having been first obtained, that a removal to Connecticut should take place in the following year, and a number of the residents of New Town

were sent in the fall of 1635 to occupy a town site and prepare for the settlement of it. The place selected is now called Hartford.

In August, 1635, at or about the time that Mr. Hooker had decided to leave New Town, the Rev. Thomas Shepard arrived from England with a large number of new settlers in two ships. It was very soon arranged that Mr. Shepard and some of those who had come with him should settle at New Town in the place of those who were to go to Connecticut. Just how the newcomers were provided for during the winter of 1635-1636 does not appear. The houses of Dudley, Bradstreet, Denison, and some others in New Town were probably available for the use of some of the newcomers. It was decided that Mr. Shepard should be installed before Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone and those who were going with them took their departure.

#### *Election of Thomas Shepard*

February 1, 1636, was the day selected for the election of Mr. Shepard.

The exercises which were held on the occasion of Mr. Shepard's election are described at considerable length by Winthrop in his *Journal*. He gives only a few lines to the ordination of Mr. Hooker in 1633. He gives nearly two pages to the installation of Mr. Shepard in 1636. What he says is given in full in Paige's "History of Cambridge."

Winthrop speaks of the occasion as the raising of a church body. It is said that the covenant was read and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Whether this was the original church covenant or not does not appear. Mention is made of an elder and of a deacon to be chosen, but their names are not given. It is probable that the ruling elder was Richard Champney, who came in 1635 with Mr. Shepard, and the deacon John Bridge, who came in 1632. The Rev. John Cotton assisted in the exercises, as Winthrop states, but it does not appear whether Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone were present or not. Elders were invited from all the neighboring churches and there was a great assembly present.

It appears from Winthrop's account that the ordination of Mr. Shepard did not take place until a later date. Possibly he

was not ordained until June, 1636, after Mr. Hooker had removed to Connecticut. The history of the Rev. Thomas Shepard is well known to all. He was, to say the least, a worthy successor of Thomas Hooker. The limits of this paper forbid my saying more of him at this time.

*The Departure of Thomas Hooker*

It was not until nearly four months after the election of Mr. Shepard that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone and others of New Town, about one hundred persons in all, took their departure through the wilderness to Connecticut. The names of those of Hooker's flock who left New Town and went to Connecticut are as follows:

1. Jeremy Adams	28. William Lewis
2. Matthew Allen	29. Richard Lord
3. William Andrews	30. John Maynard
4. John Arnold	31. Hester Mussey
5. John Barnard	32. Joseph Mygate
6. Richard Butler	33. James Olmstead
7. William Butler	34. William Pantry
8. Clement Chaplin	35. Stephen Post
9. Mrs. Chester	36. John Pratt
10. John Clark	37. Nathaniel Richards
11. Nicholas Clark	38. Thomas Scott
12. Robert Day	39. Thomas Spencer
13. Joseph Easton	40. William Spencer
14. Edward Elmer	41. Timothy Stanley
15. Nathaniel Ely	42. Edward Stebbins
16. James Ensign	43. George Steele
17. Richard Goodman	44. John Steele
18. William Goodwin	45. George Stocking
19. Seth Grant	46. Rev. Samuel Stone
20. Samuel Greenhill	47. John Talcott
21. Stephen Hart	48. William Wadsworth
22. John Haynes, Esq.	49. Samuel Wakeman
23. Rev. Thomas Hooker	50. Andrew Warner
24. John Hopkins	51. Richard Webb
25. Thomas Hosmer	52. William Westwood
26. Thomas Judd	53. John White
27. William Kelsey	54. Samuel Whitehead

It is interesting to note that six of those who may be called Mr. Shepard's followers, viz.,

1. William Blumfield	4. Clement Chaplin
2. Benjamin Burr	5. William Ruscoe
3. William Butler	6. Thomas Weller

instead of remaining with him followed Mr. Hooker to Hartford.

November 23, 1635, which was after the arrival of Mr. Shepard and his followers, a general town meeting was held, and the following nine men were elected as selectmen to order the business of the town for the year following and until new be chosen in their places:

1. William Andrews	5. Nicholas Danforth
2. John Bridge	6. Roger Harlakenden
3. Clement Chaplin	7. Thomas Hosmer
4. Joseph Cooke	8. William Spencer
9. Andrew Warner	

Of these nine, four, viz.,

1. John Bridge	3. Nicholas Danforth
2. Joseph Cooke	4. Roger Harlakenden

remained in New Town after Mr. Hooker removed, and five, viz.,

1. William Andrews	3. Thomas Hosmer
2. Clement Chaplin	4. William Spencer
5. Andrew Warner	

followed Mr. Hooker to New Town, Connecticut. Mr. Andrews returned and was again elected as a selectman in 1640.

It is to be noted that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, when they departed to Connecticut, did not take all of the church members with them. At least eleven families remained, viz., those of

1. Guy Bainbridge	6. John Gibson
2. Thomas Beale	7. Bartholomew Green
3. John Benjamin	8. Samuel Green
4. John Bridge	9. Nathaniel Hancock
5. Christopher Cane	10. William Mann
11. John Masters	

The town of New Town continued as a town in Massachusetts. There was no break in the continuity of its existence. The meeting house which belonged to the town remained and continued in use for religious exercises. The town record book and the book of Proprietors' records both remained. The new town in Connecticut, to be sure, was at first called New Town. But the use of the name in Connecticut did not affect its use in Massachusetts.

In regard to the church covenant I find no suggestion that it was taken away. History is a blank on this point.

Mr. Hooker continued at Hartford until his death in 1647. His gravestone may be seen there in the old burying ground. It is claimed in Hartford that he was the originator of the idea of a fundamental law, or as we call it a written constitution, adopted by a free people, restricting themselves in various ways as to future legislation.

It is to be noted that in the same year that Mr. Hooker removed to Hartford, one of the ministers and the larger part of the congregation of the church at Dorchester removed to Connecticut and settled the town of Windsor. The question of the true beginning of the present church at Dorchester has been the subject of discussion, but, as already noted, that church now claims that its beginning was in 1630.

### *The Church at Hartford*

The church of Mr. Hooker in Hartford in a certain sense still exists. It calls itself the First Church of Christ in Hartford. As I am told, both it and the parish with which it was connected gave up their legal existence a few years ago, or rather merged the same into a new corporation organized under the laws of Connecticut.

What, if anything, was done in 1636 at Hartford in the way of a new organizing or gathering of a church cannot now be ascertained, as the early records at Hartford long since disappeared. It is certain that the church at Hartford from 1636 was connected with the new town of Hartford, which built and owned a new meeting house and paid the ministers until such time as the parish at Hartford began to exist separate from the town.

The present church at Hartford dates its beginning from 1632, claiming that there probably was a church gathered in New Town, Massachusetts, as early as the fall of 1632, when the meeting house was completed, and that this was the beginning of the church at Hartford.

#### *Church Name*

The early name of the church in Cambridge was the Church of Christ at Cambridge. This is the name used by the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell in 1658 in his list of the church members.

The name "Ye first Church in Cambridge" appears in the church records under date of April 25, 1740, and after that date is frequently used. The church has never been called the Second Church in Cambridge, as it naturally would have been if the first church, that of Mr. Hooker, had ceased to exist in Cambridge in 1636.

We have one piece of record evidence which is worthy of special notice as to the beginning of the First Church in Cambridge. I refer to a letter from Mr. William Winthrop to the Rev. Abiel Holmes, dated May 19, 1795, which contains the following:

"Sir: Dr. Dana in a note has given a list of the ministers in this Parish, which I believe is not so correct as the one I now send."

The list Winthrop gives is as follows:

1. Rev. Thomas Hooker, ordained October 11, 1633, Mr. Samuel Stone his assistant. Mr. Hooker removed (with many of his Parish) to Hartford in Connecticut June 1636 and there died July 7, 1647 Aet. 61. Mr. Stone went with him to the same place and there died July 20, 1663.

2. Rev. Thomas Sheppard ordained February 1, 1736 [should be 1636] and died Aug. 25, 1649 Aet. 43.

The list continues, number 9 being the Rev. Abiel Holmes, installed January 25, 1792.

#### *Legal Status of Colonial Churches*

In the case of *Avery v. Tyringham*, 3 Mass. 160 (1807), Parsons, C. J., says:

Under the colonial laws, the church members in full communion had the exclusive right of electing and settling their ministers, to whose support all the inhabitants of the town were obliged to contribute. And when the town neglected or refused suitably to maintain the minister, the county court was authorized to assess on the inhabitants a sum of money adequate to his support. Under the colony charter no man could be a freeman, unless he was a church member, until the year 1662; and a majority of the church constituted a majority of the legal voters of the town. After that time, inhabitants, not church members, if freeholders, and having certain other qualifications, might be admitted to the rights of freemen. In consequence of this alteration, a different method of settling a minister was adopted, under the provincial charter. The church made the election, and sent their proceedings to the town for their approbation. If the town approved the election, it also voted the salary and settlement. When the candidate accepted, he was solemnly introduced to the office by ordination, and became the settled minister, entitled to his salary and settlement under the votes of the town. If the town disapproved, and the church insisted on its election, it might call an ecclesiastical council; and if the council approved the election, the town was obliged to maintain the person chosen, as the settled minister of the town, by the interference of the Court of Sessions, if necessary; but if the council disapproved, the church must have proceeded to a new election.

In *Burr v. Sandwich*, 9 Mass. 277 (1812), Parsons, C. J., says:

Now a parish and church are bodies with different powers. A regularly gathered congregational church is composed of a number of persons, associated by a covenant or agreement of church fellowship, principally for the purposes of celebrating the rites of the supper and of baptism. They elect deacons; and the minister of the parish is also admitted a member. The deacons are made a corporation, to hold property for the use of the church, and they are accountable to the members. The members of the church are generally inhabitants of the parish; but this inhabitancy is not a necessary qualification for a church member. This body has no power to contract with or to settle a minister, that power residing wholly in the parish, of which the members of the church, who are inhabitants, are a part. The parish, when the ministerial office is vacant, from an ancient and respectable usage, wait until the church have made choice of a minister, and have requested the concurrence of the parish. If the parish do not concur, the election of a church is a

nullity. If the parish concur, then a contract of settlement is made wholly between the parish and the minister and is obligatory only on them.

In *Baker v. Fales*, 16 Mass. 487 (1820), Parker, C. J., says:

If a church may subsist unconnected with any congregation or religious society, as has been urged in argument, it is certain that it has no legal qualities, and more especially that it cannot exercise any control over property which it may have held in trust for the society with which it had been formerly connected. That any number of the members of a church, who disagree with their brethren, or with the minister, or with the parish, may withdraw from fellowship with them and act as a church in a religious point of view, having the ordinances administered and other religious offices performed, it is not necessary to deny; indeed, this would be a question proper for an ecclesiastical council to settle, if any should dispute their claim. But as to all civil purposes, the secession of a whole church from the parish would be an extinction of the church; and it is competent to the members of the parish to institute a new church, or to engraft one upon the old stock if any of it should remain; and this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old, in relation to the parish. This is not only reasonable, but it is conformable to the usages of the country; for, although many instances may have occurred of the removal of church members from one church or one place of worship to another, and no doubt a removal of a majority of the members has sometimes occurred, we do not hear of any church ceasing to exist, while there were members enough left to do church service. No particular number is necessary to constitute a church, nor is there any established quorum, which would have a right to manage the concerns of the body. According to the Cambridge Platform, ch. 3, sec. 4, the number is to be no larger than can conveniently meet together in one place, nor, ordinarily, fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. It would seem to follow, from the very structure of such a body as this, which is a mere voluntary association, that a diminution of its numbers will not affect its identity. A church may exist, in an ecclesiastical sense, without any officers, as will be seen in the Platform; and, without doubt, in the same sense a church may be composed only of feme covert and minors, who have no civil capacity. The only circumstances, therefore, which gives a church any legal character, is its connection with some regularly-constituted society; and those who withdraw from the society cease to be members of that particu-

lar church, and the remaining members continue to be the identical church. . . .

But where members enough are left to execute the objects for which a church is gathered, choose deacons, etc., no legal change has taken place; the body remains, and the secession of a majority of the members would have no other effect than a temporary absence would have upon a meeting which had been regularly summoned.

That a church cannot subsist without some religious community to which it is attached, with the exceptions before stated, is not a new theory. It has, we believe, been the understanding of the people of New England, from the foundation of the colonies. . . .

There appeared to be little practical distinction between church and congregation, or parish, or society, for several years after our ancestors came here. It was not till the year 1641, that we find any legislative recognition of the right and power of churches to elect ministers. Before that period, without doubt, the whole assembly were considered the church, or so great a portion of it, that no necessity of any regulation could exist. But in that year, the right to gather churches under certain restrictions was established, and the power of electing church officers, comprehending, without doubt, ministers, was vested in the church. How the ministers before that time were supported does not appear; but it is probable, by voluntary contribution; for it does not appear that any legal obligation was created before the year 1652. . . . In 1654, authority was given to the county court to assess upon the inhabitants a proper sum for the support of the minister, if any defect existed.

In *Stebbins v. Jennings*, 10 Pick. 172 (1830), Shaw, C. J., says:

That an adhering minority of a local or territorial parish, and not a seceding majority, constitutes the church of such parish to all civil purposes, was fully settled in the case of *Baker v. Fales*, 16 Mass. R. 503, and *Sandwich v. Tilden* there cited. . . . From these views, it seems evident, that the identity of a congregational church, used in the sense already explained, must be considered as depending upon the identity of the parish or religious society, with which it is connected. . . . Even should every member of an existing church die or remove, it would be competent for other members of the parish or religious society to associate themselves for the purpose of celebrating the christian ordinances, or in the language of the early days of New England, to gather a church, and such associated body would possess all the powers and privileges of the church of such parish, and would be the legitimate successor of

the former church, to the same extent as if no suspension or interruption in the regular succession and continuity of the body had taken place. Such a body would have the power of electing deacons, and when elected, by force of the statute, all property, real and personal, which had been held by their predecessors, or given to the church, would vest in such deacons. . . . If, then, it is asked whether, if a church be dissatisfied with the doctrines taught, and the instructions given, in the parish in which it is formed, they cannot withdraw, the answer appears to us to be obvious; that the organization of a church in any parish is designed for the edification and benefit of those members who choose to unite in it, and if those members, be they few, many or all, can no longer conscientiously attend there, they may unquestionably withdraw and provide for the institution of public worship elsewhere. But this they necessarily do in another and distinct capacity,—that of a religious society. They may also form a church, but it will be the church of the society thus established, and not the church of the society from which they have withdrawn. . . .

Upon a review of the subject the Court are all of opinion, as it was substantially decided in *Baker v. Fales*, so far as that case involved the same point, that in whatever aspect a church, for some purposes may be considered, it appears to be clear, from the constitution and laws of the land and from judicial decisions, that the body of communicants gathered into church order, according to established usage, in any town, parish, precinct, or religious society, established according to law, and actually connected and associated therewith for religious purposes, for the time being, is to be regarded as the church of such society, as to all questions of property depending upon that relation.

In *Weld v. May*, 9 *Cush.* 181 (1852), Shaw, C. J., says:

The character, powers and duties of churches gathered within the various congregational parishes and religious societies in this commonwealth, have been definitely known and understood from the earliest period of its existence. Indeed, the main object of the first settlers of the country, in their emigration hither, was to manage their religious affairs in their own way. The earliest thing they established was a congregation and a congregational church. The legal character of the church was well understood.

It was a body of persons, members of a congregational or other religious society, established for the promotion and support of public worship, which body was set apart from the rest of the society,

for peculiar religious observances, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and for mutual edification. They were usually formed and regulated by a covenant, or articles of agreement, which each separate church formed for itself, sometimes with the advice of other churches, by which they mutually stipulated to assist each other, by advice and counsel, in pursuing a christian course of life, to submit to proper censure and discipline for any deviation therefrom, and generally, to promote the essential growth and welfare of each other. They might consist of all or only a portion of the adult members of the congregation with which they were connected.

### *Conclusions*

From the foregoing it follows:

1. The First Church in Cambridge began October 11, 1633, when Thomas Hooker was ordained.
2. The church which was gathered in 1633 continued its legal existence in Cambridge and did not come to an end when Mr. Hooker and a considerable number of the church members removed to Connecticut.
3. The present churches, which are named The First Church in Cambridge (Unitarian) and The First Church in Cambridge (Congregational) respectively, should date their beginning as 1633 instead of 1636, or else they should change their respective names.

### NOTE

For a paper by the Rev. Edward Henry Hall, D.D., written in 1911, entitled "Relations between the First Church of Hartford and the First Church in Cambridge," in which different conclusions are reached, see *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. xiii, pages 273-277.

For an interesting paper prepared by the Hon. Chief Justice Shaw containing a lucid exposition of the legal grounds of the decision in *Baker v. Fales*, 16 Mass. 487 (1820), above referred to, see the Appendix to this article. This paper was written by the Chief Justice, about 1857, at the request of the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis for insertion in the Appendix to his "Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy."

## APPENDIX

COMMENT ON THE CASE OF *BAKER v. FALES*, 16 Mass. 487

BY CHIEF JUSTICE LEMUEL SHAW

It is true, as you have stated, that in the earlier years of our colonial history the power of choosing the minister, or teaching elder, in a parish or religious society, was vested in the church; but so was the election to civil offices. Church members alone had a right of suffrage in civil affairs. Afterwards, the church and the society had a concurrent vote, and the law on the subject was varied from time to time.

But to avoid any collision or conflict of authority on this subject, it was expressly provided by the Constitution of 1780,—the fundamental law, not to be changed by the Legislature,—that the parish, or religious society, or town, or district, where the same corporation exercised the functions of a town and religious society, should have the exclusive right and power of electing the minister and contracting with him for his support. The language of the Constitution upon this subject is explicit, as follows: “Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and contracting with them for their support and maintenance.” And when the Third Article of the Declaration of Rights, containing this provision, was abrogated by amendment in 1833, this provision securing to religious societies the right of election was reinstated, and is now a part of the Constitution of the Commonwealth; except that, instead of the term “public teachers” in the first instrument, the more specific designation of “pastors and religious teachers” is substituted. This was accompanied with another fundamental principle, that all religious sects and denominations shall be equally under the protection of the law, and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall be established by law. These provisions constitute the legal foundations of the religious institutions of the Commonwealth.

The religious society may be a territorial or a poll parish, or organized as a religious society under the statute, and may be of any denomination. Such a religious society is a corporation and body politic, capable of taking and holding property in its own right, for the purposes for which it is organized, which are, the support and maintenance of public worship and religious instruction, providing for all the expenses incident to these duties, as building a meeting-house, settling a minister, providing for his support, and the like. The *church* is a body of individuals formed within a religious society by covenant, for the celebration of Christian ordinances, for mutual edification and discipline, and for making charitable provision for its own members, and for all expenses incident to these specific objects. The church may be composed of all or of a part of the members of a religious society. It may be composed of males and females, adults and minors; though by long-established usage adult male members alone vote in church affairs.

Now it is manifest that, under the foregoing provision of the Constitution, the legal voters of the parish alone have by law the power to vote in the settle-

ment of a minister, and the church as an organized body can have no negative. But each male member of the church is usually, if not necessarily, a member of the religious society, and as such has his equal voice with all other members of the society. But in fact and in practice, church-members, being among the most respected members of the society, will ordinarily have an influence, by their counsel and their character, much greater than the proportion which they numerically bear to the whole number of voters. And from the respect due to such a body, as a matter of courtesy, they are usually consulted, and in many instances are requested to take the lead in giving a call to a minister; and, if the parish concur, in making the ecclesiastical arrangements for his ordination, the invitation of a council, and the usual solemnities attending such settlement. This customary deference to the church is all just and proper, and a course which every lover of Christian harmony and order would approve. But if such harmony cannot be maintained, and the parties come to a controversy requiring an appeal to the law, the law must decide these questions of right according to the express provision of the Constitution and the laws of the land, without regard to sect or denomination.

Another fundamental principle lying at the foundation of these legal decisions is this: That the church of any religious society, recognized by usage and to some extent by law as an aggregate body associated for highly useful and praiseworthy purposes, whose usages and customs are to be respected and encouraged, is not a corporation or body politic capable of taking and holding property. No doubt, in the very earliest times there was some confusion in the minds of our ancestors upon this subject; but ever since 1754, now more than a century, the distinction between church and society has been well known and universally observed. The very purpose of the statute of 1754 was to vest deacons of Congregational Churches, and the wardens and vestry of Episcopal Churches, with corporate powers to take property for the church, for the very reason that the church, as an aggregate body of individuals, not a corporation, could not by law take property, or hold and transmit it in succession. Since that time, church property and parish property have been regarded as wholly distinct. Church property held by deacons could not be appropriated by the parish as of right, nor could parish property be used or appropriated by the church. In the Dedham case there might be some doubt raised in the mind of one not attending carefully to this legal distinction. The property originated in grants made to *the church* in form at the very early date of 1660, when, as I have said, there was some confusion of terms; for though it was given to the First Church, it was for the support of "a teaching elder," i.e., a minister, which is peculiarly a parish purpose. The court decided in that particular case, that, by the particular grant, the legal estate, being given to "the church" by force of the statute of 1754, vested in the deacons as church property in trust for the support of a minister, and so was, in effect, in trust for the parish. But the court decided in that same case, that, but for the trusts declared in those grants, the parish, as such, would have no claim, legal or equitable, to the property granted, or the proceeds of the sale of it.

The effect of that decision was that the legal estate vested in the deacons as church property; and that the First Parish, as a corporation, had no title to it. And this is manifest from the consideration that the deacons of the church maintained the action as the recognized legal owners.

As to which of the two parties in that suit were rightfully the deacons of the Church of the First Parish, — that was a distinct question. And upon considerations, and as matter of law, the court decided, that, although a majority

of the members of the First Church seceded and withdrew from the society after they had given a call to a minister, in which the church as a body did not concur; yet those of the church who remained and adhered to the First Parish constituted the Church of the First Parish, with the incidental right of removing and choosing deacons; and the deacons whom they had chosen, in place of those whom they had removed, were the deacons of the Church of the First Parish.

The principle, then, appears to be this: That a church is an associated body, gathered in a religious society for mutual edification and discipline and the celebration of the Christian ordinances. It is ascertained and identified as the Church of the Parish or religious Society in which it is formed. The Church of the First Parish of D., for example, is ascertained and identified by its existence in, and connection with, that parish. If a majority of the members withdraw, they have a full right to do so, but they thereby cease to be the church of that parish. They withdraw as individuals, and not as an organized body. They may form a religious society by applying to a justice of the peace, under the statute, to call a meeting, and a church may be gathered in such society. But it would be a new society, and the church gathered in it would not be the Church of the First Parish of D. They might associate others with themselves and settle a minister, but this would not make such society the Church of the First Parish. It follows as a necessary legal consequence, that all church property, even a service of plate for the communion, given to the Church of the First Parish of D., must be and remain for the church gathered in that parish, and those who may succeed them in that parish, and it cannot go to the use of any other church or the church of any other society. However desirable it may seem to all right-thinking persons that all such controversies should be avoided, by an amicable adjustment of all such claims upon the principles of the most liberal equity and charity, and with a just regard to the feelings as well as the rights of all, yet, if parties will appeal to the law to decide a question respecting the right of property, even to a service of church plate, the law must decide it upon the same legal principles which govern the acquisition and transmission of property in all other cases.

There is no case in which it has been decided, in this Commonwealth, that any parish or religious society, acting as a corporation charged with the special duty of supporting and maintaining public worship, have a right to recover property of a seceding church, or of any church of such parish. But the controversy has always been between those members of the church of a designated parish who remain with that parish, and those who secede, retire, or withdraw therefrom, as to which is the real church of said parish. It has been a question of identity, and the decision has gone upon the principle, that, whatever other rights or claims the retiring or seceding members, even though a majority, may have, they could not be considered in law, after such secession, as the Church of that Parish.

HENRY HERBERT EDES made the following communication:

THE Deacons' Books of the First Church in Cambridge, in two parchment-bound volumes, cover the period from 1637 to 1723, with a number of entries ranging from 1724 to 1783, comprising in all nearly one hundred and fifty years.

The accounts relate to the collections taken up from week to week for the support of the minister, for the poor of the Church, and for special cases where help was needed, such, for instance, as the sufferers by the great fire in Boston in March, 1760. There are also accounts with different persons of receipts and payments. Some of the accounts give interesting facts as to the administration of the Sacrament, the ordination and death of the ministers, and other details concerning the life and activities of the Church.

There are entries relating to the Church and its members, and to Cambridge town affairs following the Hooker Emigration, in June, 1636, some of which have never been used, certainly not in their full original text.

In the latter part of the Colonial Period, for several years, the names of the preachers from Sunday to Sunday are given, as well as the amounts paid them for preaching the sermons. Here we find the names of the Mathers, the Cottons, and others prominent among the clergy of those days.

There are votes passed by the deacons on various subjects, and several annual lists of parishioners who were in arrears, with the amounts due from each. We also find curious receipts for money, with autograph signatures of some of the settled ministers of the Church, and occasional entries relating to the Church property. Here, too, strange to say, may be found many entries of interest to the political economists, since they afford prices current of breadstuffs and all kinds of provisions in which a large part of the rates were paid, a small portion only having been paid in money. In these records we see also the relative value of Old Tenor and New Tenor at different periods.

Among the more important items in these venerable volumes are those recording the actual or approximate dates of death of not a few parishioners, while other entries reveal relationships when settlements of open accounts with parishioners who had died

were made with heirs or kinsfolk. The phonetic spelling of family names reveals the pronunciation in vogue two hundred years ago.

There are many names recorded in these books. Owing to the imperfection of the Cambridge Vital Records kept by the Town Clerk, and of the Church Records proper,—those kept by the ministers prior to 1696,—the entries and lists preserved in the Deacons' Records are of unusual value. A few names, taken at random, will indicate the wide field covered by these volumes:

Adams	Francis	Remington
Angier	Frost	Robbins
Barrett	Goffe	Russell
Boardman	Gookin	Sparhawk
Bradish	Green	Spencer
Brattle	Hancock	Stedman
Champney	Hastings	Stone
Cook	Ireland	Swan
Coolidge	Jackson	Tidd
Cooper	Leverett	Trowbridge
Cutter	Locke	Warland
Dana	Manning	Wellington
Danforth	Nutting	Whittemore
Dickson	Oliver	Willard
Dunster	Parker	Winship
Fillebrown	Phipps	Wyeth
Foster	Prentice	
Foxcroft	Read	

While the Records do not readily lend themselves as material for an interesting paper to be read before this Society, they contain original, unused matter of interest and importance to the historian and genealogist interested in the history of Cambridge, and of the families who were seated here in the days of the Colony and the Province.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Bailey and Mr. Edes and the meeting was dissolved.

By vote of the Council, the Longfellow Medal Prize Essay for 1915 is printed here.

*Longfellow Prize Essay for 1915*DESCRIPTIONS OF NATURE IN LONGFELLOW'S  
POEMS

BY MARGARET CHARLTON BLACK

EVERY true poet is a lover of nature. This has been so from earliest times until the present day and will be so throughout the ages. For Homer moonlight, starlight, the rosy-fingered dawn, and the wine-dark sea had a peculiar fascination. To Chaneer the coming of spring and the spreading of the daisy against the sun were a source of unending delight. Shakespeare worshipped nature with heart and soul; there is nothing in heaven or earth, in sea or air, that has not been touched on by the pen of this creator. After the artificial themes and purely intellectual subjects of the verse of the time of Queen Anne the world turned with gladness and relief to the nature poetry of Thomson, Collins, and Burns, and all that is meant by the literature of romanticism. For Wordsworth the love of nature was a passion. The cataract haunted him; the tall rock, the mountain crest, the lake, and the gloomy woodland were meat and drink to his imagination.

In the growth and development of American poetry nature has been one of the chief subjects of interpretation from the first. In the seventeenth century Mistress Anne Bradstreet introduced notable descriptions of flowers, birds, fields, and woods into her "Contemplations" and "The Four Seasons of the Year," and before the eighteenth century closed Philip Freneau had enriched the world of nature poetry by "The Wild Honeysuckle" and "The Indian Burying Ground," anticipating and preparing the way for such lyrics as Bryant's "To the Fringed Gentian" and "To a Water-Fowl." It is significant that in the earliest poems of Longfellow, who was to become the most representative American man of letters, nature should be the leading theme; "An April Day," "Autumn," "Woods in Winter," "Sunrise on the Hills" are among the first poems which he gave to the world. What makes this the more noteworthy is that, while Bryant is usually regarded as the Ameri-

can poet of nature, Longfellow's special appeal is supposed to be to the domestic affections through the purity, sweetness, and tenderness with which he has depicted the common emotions of the human heart. As a matter of fact Longfellow has written more nature lyrics than any other American poet, and many of the best known nature descriptions in solitary epithets or single lines are from his poems. In the world of modern expression are no more widely known bits of word picture than "the trailing garments of the night," "the cold light of stars," "the forest primeval," "the trampling surf," "the fenceless fields of air," "with what a glory comes and goes the year." These are indeed household words.

From his birthplace and his early environment in the northern city between the ocean and the pine woods of Maine, Longfellow derived that passion for the forest and the sea which is felt through all his more notable verse. No poet has given a more hauntingly beautiful account of the facts and circumstances that colored his young imagination and shaped his emotional being than Longfellow in "My Lost Youth." Here may be read the secret of that love of the ocean and that ardent passion for the "sheen of the far-surrounding seas." What a fascination for an impressionable boy there must have been in the black wharves and the stately ships, the Spanish sailors from distant lands, the magic and mystery of the sea itself! And it was in the environment of his boyhood home that he first heard the rustling of the forest primeval. The deep shadows of the glades and the breeze in the tree-tops aroused in him that sense of harmony between nature and the soul of man which marks all his later descriptions of forest, field, and sea. So vividly were these recollections of childhood pictured in his memory that in after-years, when his heart wandered back among the dreams of the days that were, he rediscovered his lost boyhood: nothing was forgotten; even the "gleams and glooms that dart across the schoolboy's brain" seemed but the thoughts of yesterday.

His parents, in no less degree than the romantic environment of sea and woodland, were an inspiration to the young poet. He had such parents as a poet should have: the father wise, strong, with a marked religious bent; the mother tender, gentle, with an emotional nature tuned to the finest issues by her knowl-

edge of all that is best and worthiest in imaginative literature. Little wonder that the lad became a poet and an interpreter of the fields, the woods, the dim, dark sea, the light of stars, the beauty and the mystery of childhood. Hence come the light that lies on his early nature poems and the beauty of the lines in "Sunrise on the Hills." To all who have seen the "sun's returning march" and the "clouds all bathed in light," crowning the hill-tops and gleaming on the distant water, these verses will express the feelings and emotions that spring up in the heart at the splendor of such a vision. Here, even in this early poem, may be noted what is characteristic of the nature description in the later and longer works, particularly in "Evangeline" and in "Hiawatha," a tendency to emphasize general rather than particular truths in regard to the external world. The description is not that of a self-conscious or scientifically trained observer, but the imprinting of the seal of a noble and generous personality upon the great elemental aspects of nature.

In the year 1839 the first published volume of Longfellow's poems appeared under the title of "Voices of the Night." Here are found some of the best known verses in the English language, well known because in their simplicity and sincerity they make an appeal where "the mighty thought" of many a grand old master has failed to touch or inspire. In the "Prelude" the poet retires from the busy hum of the city to seek relief and comfort in the stillness and solitude of the forest. It is spring-time, and the freshness of the new world cheers the heart and fills the mind with inspiration and hope. How is it that, when the spirit is weary and oppressed, there is a mysterious magic in the woodland that has the power to charm away all sorrow and unhappiness? This secret the poet knew full well, and his verses give the solution of many a difficulty and charm away many a grief from which there might seem no escape. The "Hymn to the Night" is one of the great lyrics of modern literature. This poem, "The Evening Star," and "The Bridge at Midnight" express hauntingly, mysteriously, the beauty and mysticism of the twilight and the dark. The opening verse of the Hymn is indeed a poem in itself, charged in every syllable with vividness and imagination.

Among these early writings are many poems that show Long-

fellow's wholesome love and worship of external nature. Spring, the period of youth and gladness, seems to have appealed strongly to him. The spirit of the season, when all things are new, animates his poetry, yet in the very verses that follow the description of the darting swallows and the budding elms we have the pathetic lines, "It is not always May!", "There are no birds in last year's nest!" This mingling of joy and sorrow betokens the true interpreter, for when we are happiest, tears are not far away.

Was it through constant intercourse with hills and woodlands that Longfellow came to know and love the birds of the meadows and the forests? He is a friend and protector of them all; there are none too small or insignificant to escape his sympathetic notice. He has no favorites, so it seems; but the musical song of one, the brilliant plumage of another, fill him with equal delight and inspiration. He called them all by name, and speaks with peculiar tenderness of the robin and the bluebird, the humble sparrow and the lonely seabirds.

Surely there was never a more earnest appeal in behalf of the birds than that made through the Preceptor's lips in "*The Birds of Killingworth*." The season is spring, and the blossoming orchards and running brooks proclaim new life and vigor everywhere. Joy and happiness reign in field and sky and everywhere save in the hearts of the foolish inhabitants of the village. They view with horror and dismay this blithest of all seasons, for to them it means the advent of their mortal enemies, the birds. These stolid, narrow-minded villagers seem to symbolize that blinded company of people whose vision is so stunted that it cannot see its own gain. The little that is taken by these "feathered gleaners" is out of all proportion to the return that is made in their pleasant company, their jubilant songs, and good service rendered in the fields and gardens. But no! To those who merely look for worldly gain such "fine-spun sentiment" can give no surety or trust. The birds, like common "thieves and pillagers," are convicted, sentenced, and put to death. It is a melancholy world that the poet pictures, bereft of the little creatures that fill the land with music and make this dull life a paradise on earth; all nature mourns for the lost children of the wood. No rest or ease is given to the unhappy farmers, for retribution is swift and sudden. The grasshopper

and the caterpillar make havoc of the crops; the hoped-for success has turned out an utter failure. Sadder and wiser men, the people of Killingworth do what they can to make amends for the mad "Slaughter of the Innocents," and early in the following spring numerous cages filled with song birds are brought to the stricken town. The cages are opened; the little prisoners escape, and once more the lonely fields and forests are filled with joyous music and glad hymns of praise. There is a quaint blending of humor and pathos in this little story, and this makes its mission doubly effective.

The "Tales of a Wayside Inn" are varied and differ widely in subject matter and setting, but the narratives have noteworthy touches and expressions taken from the realm of nature. "Paul Revere's Ride" is lit up by the moonrise on the bay, and the fresh breeze of early dawn is felt in the closing lines. In "The Ballad of Carmilhan" are singularly vivid nature descriptions — the sunbeams dancing on the waves, the mysterious setting of the sun behind tall, gloomy mountains, capped with snow, followed by the storm at sea.

Longfellow's passion for the ocean has been referred to above. He has spoken of its splendor and majesty; he has told of its cruelty, its ruthlessness. Two poems that come immediately to mind in this connection are "The Skeleton in Armor" and "The Wreck of the Hesperus." The one represents the wild, dark sea of the far north and the bold Vikings in their huge-prowed ships; the other pictures the angry ocean of winter off the New England coast and the tragedy of the wrecked schooner. In both ballads Longfellow has caught the spirit of his theme; they are graphic, vivid, alive with color and animation.

In Longfellow's longer poems, and particularly in "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha," although engrossed with a powerful theme and characters intensely human, the poet furnishes a nature setting, or background, of singular beauty and, at times, richness. How wonderfully the opening lines of "Evangeline" portray the majesty and mystery of the dim, gray forest, the melancholy fascination of the deep-voiced ocean! The language and expression are like sonorous music from an organ, rich and full. In the earlier verses of the poem Longfellow has set himself to describe the happy and contented life of the Aedian farmers and

the loveliness of the surrounding country. It is a glorious land of broad flat meadows and good pasturage, fields of salt hay stretching away to the ocean, and, far in the distance, lofty mountains and dark masses of woodland. As the poem proceeds there is unrolled before our eyes, like a vast pageant, an ever-changing panorama of life and color. In telling of the lonely wanderings of Evangeline the poet follows the patient pilgrim down the swift-moving river of the west, the banks of which on either hand are filled with strange sights and brilliant vegetation. Days and nights pass, and the travellers reach the sluggish waters of the broad lagoons, the cypress swamps, and the avenues of tall, dark cedar trees. There is something unspeakably fascinating in the beauty of the southern landscape. Longfellow felt this charm and in these pictures of the radiant fairyland makes his readers feel it too. Intermingled with these wonderful pictures of the golden sunset, "setting water, sky, and forests on fire at a touch," are suggestions of the dewy fragrance and soft wonder of the summer night, the fresh breezes and bright sunlight of the morning. The story of the later wanderings unfolds turbulent rivers, far-reaching stretches of prairie, and vast ranges of snow-clad hills. The closing lines of the poem bear a strange resemblance to those with which it began. There is something almost prophetic in the idea that years have come and gone, people have died and long been forgotten, yet still stands the forest primeval, and the deep-voiced ocean still speaks from its rocky caverns on the shore.

In "*Hiawatha*" Longfellow has given fresh, beautiful expression to the spontaneous happiness of the outdoor world. It is a poem written for those who love simple, primeval life, who take delight in the innocent, childlike pleasures of primitive conditions. The religious genius of the American Indian worships at the shrine of Nature. *Hiawatha* is the child of Nature; her creatures are his brothers, her wonders and beauties his daily companions; under the open sky he listens to her music and her teachings. Here more than in any other poem Longfellow has expressed the thought that

To him who in the love of Nature holds  
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks  
A various language.

Such a study as we have made shows that the almost universal appeal of Longfellow is due in no small measure to the simple but sincere way in which he has dealt with such springs of emotion as starlight, the simple life of the fields and woods, the magic and mystery of the sea. From such elemental sources his power is drawn, the power that brings under a spell the hearts of children and of all who retain the clean, clear vision of youth.





*Richard H. Dana Jr.*

1815 - 1882

*From a photograph taken in Paris in 1879*

### THE THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING

THE THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was a special public meeting<sup>1</sup> held in Sanders Theatre on Wednesday, October 20, 1915, at eight o'clock in the evening, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Richard Henry Dana.

The order of exercises was as follows:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS . . . . .	Rt. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE
DANA AS A MAN OF LETTERS . . . . .	PROFESSOR BLISS PERRY
DANA AS AN ANTISLAVERY LEADER . . . .	MOORFIELD STOREY, ESQ.
DANA AS A LAWYER AND CITIZEN . . . .	HON. JOSEPH H. CHOATE

THE RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Bishop of Massachusetts, presided, having been introduced by Hollis Russell Bailey, chairman of the Committee in charge.

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BISHOP LAWRENCE

FELLOW CITIZENS:

WE have met this evening to recognize the centenary of Richard Henry Dana. Can any of us recall a similar meet-

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this meeting there was given, in the Treasure Room of the Harvard College Library, during the week of October 14-21, an exhibition of books, manuscripts, portraits, and objects of personal or historic interest relating to Mr. Dana. This exhibition was open to the public without charge. See Appendix.

ing held in memory of one who was a private citizen and who in his day was not the object of popular applause? Indeed, though a citizen of public spirit and rare devotion to the State, he was defeated in political life and rejected by the Senate for an exalted appointment; though a man of great ability, he did not meet with the success that his earlier years promised.

The fact that Mr. Dana's fellow citizens meet one hundred years after his birth to recall his life suggests that he had qualities which are not tested by popular conceptions of success, that he had elements of genius, ideals, and habits of thought which touch the deeper sentiment of mankind in such a way as to make his influence more permanent than that of the men of his time who were conspicuously successful.

It is that we may recall these ideals and characteristics that we are met to-night. As presiding officer, it is for me to do little more than introduce the speakers. I may, however, be pardoned for saying a few introductory words.

Mr. Dana came of the best and most characteristic New England stock, and he took great satisfaction in that fact. In temperament and ideals he was true to his stock. First, the spirit of liberty and of the equal rights of men before the law were so wrought into the fabric of his character that his soul was afire at any invasion of this principle. When, therefore, a despised black man was about to be carried into bondage, Mr. Dana stood by his side in his defense as naturally as if he had sprung to the defense of his own brother. Again, in his law practice the question of the amount involved or the fee to be received had no interest for him; and his sense of duty was such that he never failed to serve the humblest with the best of his time and thought. This imagination and love of liberty compelled him to press out into the field of international relations in the hope that there

might be built up a system of international comity and justice, which since his day has grown in strength and has won favoring sentiment throughout the world, but which during the past year has been rudely shaken.

Every boy born upon the coast of Massachusetts has in him the fever for salt air and the sea. Hence when in youth he was compelled to leave home on account of trouble with his eyes, he turned instinctively to the sea, and he wrote a narrative which in its simplicity and directness of expression was a fresh product of literature and has become an English classic.

Deeper than any other moving force in the New England character has been the mystic power of religious faith. From every line in Mr. Dana's ancestry there was gathered into him a deep and abiding faith in God and in the revelation of Himself through Christ. His personal religious history was similar to that of many a New Englander. His sentiment revolted at the hard and intellectual conception of the faith as expressed in the orthodoxy of his youth. His practical and positive temperament was not satisfied with the transcendental religion which expressed itself in vague aspirations after the power that makes for righteousness. Hence he was drawn to the expression of Christian faith as found in the Episcopal Church, the daughter of the Church of England. He liked background in his family history, he liked it in his church. Its simplicity and positiveness of faith supported him, and its liturgy and sacraments comforted and inspired him. Faithful and devoted as a member and officer of the Church, he carried his religion into every detail of his life,—into the slightest duty. He made it also the atmosphere of his home and the support of the members of his family. Prayer and religious conversation were as natural as the converse of children and friends. His religious faith sustained him in days of disappointment and

carried him in serenity through times of physical danger and lifted him to the great heights of chivalry.

When Matthew Arnold told the English people that the Memoirs of General Grant were a great piece of English literature they rubbed their eyes and wondered how it was possible for a man so slightly educated, from their academic point of view, to write a great piece of English literature. General Grant had the subtle faculty of observation and of expressing what he observed in such language that others can see what he saw. Mr. Dana had that same genius, the capacity of observation and of revealing to others in simple language what he saw and thus bringing him beside the reader in the vision which he wished to express. That faculty or genius runs all through "Two Years Before the Mast" as it runs through "Robinson Crusoe."

We have many of us been to a New England funeral in the country, and we have most of us read more or less of Daniel Webster, but if one wants to be carried right into the atmosphere of New England as she was some seventy years ago and to gain a conception of the masterfulness of Daniel Webster, let him read only half a dozen pages of Mr. Dana as he describes the funeral of Daniel Webster at Marshfield. There we seem to enter into the spirit of Massachusetts, into its quaint habits, and there I say we gain a conception of the power of Daniel Webster such as we may not receive from reading volumes descriptive of that power.

Mr. Dana therefore had a literary genius, and it is that we may gain a fuller conception of that literary genius that we are to listen to Professor Bliss Perry on "Dana as a Man of Letters."

## RICHARD HENRY DANA AS A MAN OF LETTERS BLISS PERRY

THE popular impression of Richard Henry Dana is that he was a man of one book. Such impressions are not always infallible, and yet the offhand, instinctive judgment upon which they rest is usually right enough for all practical purposes. In Dana's case the popular verdict is not likely to be reversed. It is one of the ironies of literature that this son of a poet, inheriting so much that was finest in the old New England culture, a pupil of Emerson, trained at Harvard, toiling gallantly in a great profession, a public-spirited citizen of a commonwealth which he served nobly and without much tangible reward, should be chiefly remembered by his record of an enforced holiday in his boyhood — by what he himself called a "parenthesis" in his life.

But the irony, as happens so often with irony, serves to reveal a fundamental law. It explains this author's nature. In that "parenthesis," as in the parenthesis or postscript of many of our private letters, Dana unconsciously expressed himself. His two years as a common sailor offered him the magical human chance, and he took it. There was something in him for which the decorous and conventional life of Boston, in the thirty years preceding the Civil War, allowed no place in its scheme. "Two Years Before the Mast" belongs to the literature of escape. In as true a sense as Thoreau's "Walden" or Parkman's "Oregon Trail" it is a record of an excursion into the uncivilized, the actual; or, as Robert Louis Stevenson puts it, "not the shoddy sham world of cities, clubs and colleges, but the world where men still lead a man's life." Here Dana could truly express himself, although self-expression was one of the last things that he had in mind. He intended a descriptive narrative of objective fact, "to present the life of a common sailor at sea as it really is," and the task was perfectly suited to his simple, earnest nature, to his lucid mind and style, to his self-forgetful interest in men and things that lay beyond the horizon of conventionality.

He was fortunate, then, in the relation of his theme to himself. It was adapted to his powers of observation and description, congenial to his natural tastes and sympathies. The real romance of

adventure revealed itself gradually to a temperament hitherto chiefly responsive to the note of literary romanticism. Books had prepared the way. Young Dana knew his Spenser and Byron, Wordsworth and Scott. It is characteristic of his generation that he finds Robinson Crusoe's island, on his outward voyage, "the most romantic spot on earth" his eyes had ever seen; that "San Juan is the only romantic spot in California," and that he experienced here a "glow of pleasure at finding that what of poetry and romance I ever had in me had not been entirely deadened by the laborious and frittering life I had led"; that the solitary grave of the English captain at San Pedro "was the only thing in California from which I could ever extract anything like poetry." His heart beats fast when he discovers at San Pedro a volume of Scott's "Pirate," and when he finds at San Diego, at the bottom of a sea chest, Godwin's "Mandeville, a Romance," he drinks delight as from a "spring in a desert land." Very real to him was this romantic sentimentalism, and very characteristic of a bookish boy in the year 1835. But was it true that only in such moods lurked the spirit of poetry? Dana's own narrative answers him with a triumphant negative. The unconscious element of his story has outlasted the self-conscious. How about sending down the royal yard in Monterey harbor, when the "well done" of the mate gave him as much satisfaction as he ever felt at Cambridge on seeing a "*bene*" at the foot of a Latin exercise? How about running the surf at Santa Barbara? Or swinging off a four-hundred-foot cliff, at San Juan, on a pair of halyards, to save a few hides, and being told for his pains: "What a d—d fool you were to risk your life for half-a-dozen hides!" How about furling the ice-covered jib while drenched with the long combers off Cape Horn? To Richard Dana's straightforward mind such things were all in the day's work. They were duties that must be done, and he did them, as he described them, in all simplicity. He told the pedagogic Horace Mann that his book "had life," but he could not then realize that to a later generation, taught by Kipling and Conrad, this very day's work was the essence of romance, while the glimpse of Robinson Crusoe's island and the lonely California grave of the forgotten Englishman were only its accidents, its mere fringe of literary association.

Another good fortune lay in the obvious framework and sequence of the story. Like Defoe's most famous narrative, it had its natural beginning, its natural series of climaxes, and its due return to the starting-point. No artificial literary plot could be better curved than that outward voyage of the brig *Pilgrim* in August, 1834, the timeless sojourn in the new land of California, then the long beat homeward of the ship *Alert* around the Horn and up past the equator and into Boston harbor in September, 1836. Fact is an artist, though not always the master artist, and in Dana's case fact served him as faithfully as the north star. He made his selections, of course, from the diary of experience, but that instinct for the essential point, which afterward made him a good lawyer, is evident in the orderliness with which he presents the cardinal features of a complex situation. He was not tempted, like some greater writers of the sea, such as Pierre Loti and Conrad, into oversubtlety. He is sometimes, like Kipling, over-technical, but it is due to an honest boyish enthusiasm for the right name of every rope.

Dana was fortunate, above all, in his youthfulness. He wrote at twenty-two. The "parenthesis" did not come, as it comes to many men, even if it comes at all, too late in their life-sentence. "Yet we were young" is the best comment upon the hardships of himself and his companions in California. "Yet we were young"; young enough to "like anything in the way of variety," to feel that the prospect of a change "sets life in motion." Nothing is more touching in Dana's later diaries and correspondence than his belief that this gift of youth, under different circumstances, might still be perennially his. He writes at the age of thirty-nine, after a sailing voyage to the Maine coast: "I believe I was made for the sea and that all my life on shore is a mistake. I was intended by nature for a general roamer and traveller by sea and land, with occasional edits of narratives, and my duties as lawyer, scholar and publicist are all out of the way." Years afterward he writes to his wife from Minnesota: "We ought to have been travellers; had no profession and no home, and roamed over the world together, like two civilized and refined gypsies." "My life has been a failure," he wrote in 1873, "compared with what I might and ought to have done. My great success — my book — was a boy's work, done before I came

to the Bar." His sojourn at Castellamare in May, 1881, a few months before his death, seemed to him "a dream of life." Such confessions as these are the outbreak of an essentially romantic temperament, forced by external circumstances to compete with the persons whom he described perfectly in his first book as the people who never walk in but one line from their cradle to their grave. Boston was full of such people then, as it is still.

One cannot say whether Dana would have been happier had his desire for a life of romantic travel been granted. Certainly he was denied that other dream of his, equally romantic, equally like certain moods of Chateaubriand, in which Dana, who sighed and wept all day over Charlotte Yonge's "*Heir of Redcliffe*," desired to give himself "to contemplation, to religious exercises, to nature, to art, to the best of reading and study." This, too, was not to be. He was disappointed, said his law partner, Mr. Parker, in every high ambition of his life. But to dwell upon this phase of his human hunger for the food that is just out of reach is to forget the great good luck of his boyhood, that golden parenthesis of nineteen to twenty-one, to which he chiefly owes to-day the place he holds in human memory.

I am not forgetful, of course, and no one who has read Dana's published work can be unmindful, of the literary excellence of his miscellaneous writings. He was always the master of a clear, direct, and vigorous style, warmed by broad sympathies and sometimes heightened by passionate feeling. His arguments for the reading of the Bible in public schools, on the Judiciary, and on the Rendition of Anthony Burns are notable even in a generation of notable addresses. The fine irony of his attack upon Webster in the imaginary "Great Gravitation Meeting," the acute perception and masculine force of his "Grasp of War" speech, his exhaustive "Note on the Monroe Doctrine," his ingenious though unsuccessful argument before the Halifax Fishery Commission, in which he describes the men of Gloucester as vividly as Burke, three quarters of a century before, had described the deep-sea fishermen of the Atlantic — these are characteristic examples of his learning and eloquence. His delightful narrative of a brief journey "To Cuba and Back" exhibits his dispassionate grasp of complicated political and social conditions, the free play of an acute and orderly intelligence. To those

who infer that Dana's harassed and overburdened mature life was without gleams of imagination, let me quote one sentence from his eulogy of Rufus Choate before the Suffolk bar, that bar that had listened, not many years before, to Choate's own eulogy of Webster:

“Sir, I speak for myself,—I have no right to speak for others,—but I can truly say, without any exaggeration, taking for the moment a simile from that element which he loved as much as I love it, though it rose against his life at last,—that in his presence I felt like the master of a small coasting vessel, that hugs the shore, that has run up under the lee to speak to a great homeward-bound Indiaman, freighted with silks and precious stones, spices and costly fabries, with sky-sails and studding-sails spread to the breeze, with the nation’s flag at her mast-head, navigated by the mysterious science of the fixed stars, and not unprepared with weapons of defence, her decks peopled with men in strange costumes, speaking of strange climes and distant lands. . . .”

Such writing lingers in the memory, though it be only the memory of a few. But for one American who has read Dana’s “Speeches in Stirring Times” there are thousands throughout the English-speaking world who have shared with the boyish Dana his pleasure in the “perfect silence of the sea” and “the early breaking of day on the wide ocean,” his awe at “the cold and angry skies” and “long heavy ugly seas” off the Cape, who have seen with him the “malignant” brightness of the lightning in the tropical storm, the yellow California sunshine and the gray California fog, and the slow, stately motion of the groaning Antarctic icebergs with the whirling snow about their summits. Once, on the homeward voyage, there came to him an experience thus described:

“One night, while we were in these tropics, I went out to the end of the flying-jib boom, upon some duty, and, having finished it, turned round, and lay over the boom for a long time, admiring the beauty of the sight before me. Being so far out from the deck, I could look at the ship, as at a separate vessel;—and, there rose up from the water, supported only by the small black hull, a pyramid of canvas, spreading out far beyond the hull, and towering up almost, as it seemed in the indistinct night air, to the clouds. The sea was as still as an inland lake; the light trade wind was gently and steadily breathing from astern; the dark blue sky was studded with the tropical stars; there was no sound

but the rippling of the water under the stem ; and the sails were spread out, wide and high ; the two lower studding-sails stretching, on each side, far beyond the deck ; the top-mast studding sails, like wings to the top-sails ; the top gallant studding sails spreading fearlessly out above them ; still higher, the two royal studding-sails, looking like two kites flying from the same string ; and highest of all, the little sky-sail, the apex of the pyramid, seeming actually to touch the stars, and to be out of reach of human hand. So quiet, too, was the sea, and so steady the breeze, that if these sails had been sculptured marble, they could not have been more motionless. Not a ripple upon the surface of the canvas; not even a quivering of the extreme edges of the sail — so perfectly were they distended by the breeze. I was so lost in the sight, that I forgot the presence of the man who came out with me, until he said, (for he too, rough old man-of-war's man as he was, had been gazing at the show) half to himself, still looking at the marble sails— ‘How quietly they do their work !’”

There, at least, is the magical moment, and what matters it whether the moment comes early or late in a writer's life? It is all the same, said Marcus Aurelius, whether a man looks on these things three years or a hundred. No, it is not quite the same; surely that man is to be envied who has seen the vision of beauty and has had the felicity of recording it, in the days of his youth.

**BISHOP LAWRENCE.** One of the greatest tests of moral courage is in the readiness of a man of high social position to throw away his position for a cause. It called for great courage in the early fifties to be an antislavery leader, but at that time the antislavery people, most of them, had very little social position. They were most of them unknown men and women. Mr. Dana took great satisfaction in his descent and in his social position. Therefore when he entered into the ranks of the antislavery leaders he showed exceptional moral courage, — for in those days it meant ostracism from many whose company he counted the dearest and whose regard he highly esteemed. Hence when Mr. Dana entered the list of antislavery leaders he not only risked, and to a certain degree threw away, his social position, but he at the same time

contributed to the cause of the antislavery advocates something which was of great value to them in bringing their cause before the people. It is the story of Mr. Dana as an antislavery leader that Mr. Moorfield Storey will tell us this evening.

### DANA AS AN ANTISLAVERY LEADER MOORFIELD STOREY

WE are wont to speak of the years when our Fathers were struggling for independence as "the times that tried men's souls," but such times are not peculiar to any generation, and the sons have endured trials quite as severe as those which tested the manhood of their sires. The leaders of the Revolution had behind them all their friends and neighbors except a small minority. They had the solace of popularity. During the four years of civil war our souls were tried and our hearts were very sore, for we knew that the future of our country and the freedom of a race were at stake, and our hopes rose and fell as the varying fortunes of the war now discouraged and now cheered us. But the people on each side were substantially united and felt that they won or lost with the whole community in which they lived. We had at least that company which "misery loves."

So to-day in the great struggle for civilization and freedom which desolates Europe, every soldier feels that behind him and beside him are his fellow countrymen, all standing together and fighting for everything that men hold dear. It is far easier to fight with so great a host than to stand with truth on the scaffold and face the opposition not only of the crowd, but of friends whom we love and respect. It takes more courage to lead a forlorn hope than to charge with a triumphant army.

The souls of the men who began the war against human slavery were put to the supreme test of courage and endurance. No popular sympathy upheld their hands or cheered their efforts. Strange as it seems to us, only fifty years since Richmond fell, the public opinion of the United States before the civil war, supported human slavery, was blind to its atrocities, and regarded its opponents as

enemies of society. To them the avenues which lead to worldly success were closed. The great business interests of the country, the great political parties, the church, the universities, the leaders of society, the men to whom their fellow citizens looked for guidance frowned upon the advocates of human freedom, while the mobs which murdered Lovejoy and dragged Garrison through the streets of Boston only showed to what personal peril the anti-slavery men were exposed.

Mr. Emerson in an unpublished diary states the situation in graphic language:

“ ‘Tis against the plain interest of young men to allow freedom. Young man! the poor Kansas settlers give no elegant suppers, no Saturday dinners, no private box have they at the opera. If you vote to garrote them, and stand by Missouri and the Union, you can just as well praise the Kansas of a thousand years ago, namely Marathon: talk just as glibly of Milton and the Puritans. You can edit Landor: you can, like Guizot and Sparks, write eulogies of Washington. Judges, bank presidents, railroad men, men of fashion, lawyers universally, all take the side of slavery. What a poor blind devil are you to break your shins for a bit of moonshine against the goodwill of the whole community. ‘Meanness,’ do you say? Yes, but when meanness is in such good company, when the university and the faculty of law and of medicine and of divinity itself are infinitely mean, who knows which is meanness? What a fool, when the whole world has lost its wits, to be the only sane man.”

Is it not strange that in the land of the free, — the hope of the oppressed, among a people brought up to believe that “all men are created equal” and who professed to be Christians, a system so truly described as “the sum of all the villainies” should be approved by men of light and leading? When as a junior in Harvard College I walked over the Blue Hills on the day that we heard of Lee’s surrender, I remember saying to my companion: “It is difficult even now to believe that slavery ever existed in this country,” and I have never since ceased to wonder at the state of feeling here in Massachusetts between 1845 and 1860, for she was “kneelin’ with the rest.”

In 1845 Mr. Dana was only thirty years old. He had been married for four years and had children. He was dependent on his

earnings, but his social connections were of the best, his reputation for ability was established, and his professional success seemed assured. He was conservative by nature, and had no sympathy with the abolition movement, as is shown by the following entry in his diary made in June, 1843, after seeing something of the proceedings in "the anti-slavery convention."

"The elements of which the convention was composed are dreadful. Heated, narrow-minded, self-willed, excited, unchristian, radical energies set to work upon a cause which is good, if rightly managed, but which they have made a hotbed for forcing into growth the most dangerous doctrines to both church and state. They are nearly all at the extreme of radicalism, socialism and infidelity."

Yet he was a Free Soiler, and in a letter to Daniel Lord of New York he gave his reasons for his faith. From this letter I quote:

"1. I am a Free Soiler by inheritance. I am the son and grandson of Federalists. The northern Federalists were decided Free Soilers. The exclusion of slavery from the Northwest territory is owing to them. In New England they opposed the Missouri compromise to the last. The yielding to the South on that point in 1820, the parent of so much evil, was by the Democrats. . . .

"2. I am a Free Soiler by education. I was educated a Whig. The Whig party of New England has been a decided Anti-slavery and Free Soil party up to and through the contest of 1848. I will agree to adopt no positions on the slave question, or any great matter, for which I cannot vouch the unanimous or all but unanimous resolves of the Whig legislatures and conventions of Massachusetts. . . .

"3. My conservatism leads me to it. There is a compound of selfishness and cowardice which often takes to itself the honored name of Conservatism. That false conservatism I call Hunkerism. Now, hunkerism, of all names and sections, Whig or Democratic, making material *prosperity and ease* its pole star, will do nothing and risk nothing for a moral principle. But not so conservatism. Conservatism sometimes requires a risking or sacrificing of material advantages. Radicalism, also, will do nothing to resist the growth of slavery, because that is purely an act of justice to others. It is not *our freedom* that is at stake. If it were, the Tammany Hall mob would be on our side and beyond us. But in a case for liberal, comprehensive justice to others, with only a remote and chiefly moral advantage, conservatism is more reliable than radicalism. . . ."

He stated his position publicly on taking the chair at a Free Soil meeting in July, 1848, after the antislavery agitation had become intense. He then said:

"I am a Whig, a Whig of the old school: I may say, without affectation, a highly conservative Whig. . . . I am in favor of supporting all the compromises of the Constitution in good faith, as well as in profession.

"Why then am I here? I understand this to be no meeting for transcendental purposes, or abolition purposes, or politico-moral reform. . . . The 'subject of our story' is simply this. Massachusetts has deliberately taken a position in favor of excluding slavery from new territories, leaving each state now in the Union to manage its own slavery. . . . The Convention at Springfield last autumn *unanimously* passed the resolution I hold in my hand:

"*Resolved*, That if the War shall be prosecuted to the final subjugation and dismemberment of Mexico, the Whigs of Massachusetts now declare, and put this declaration of their purpose on record, that Massachusetts will never consent that American territory, however acquired, shall become a part of the American Union, unless on the unalterable condition that 'there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude therein, otherwise than in the punishment of crime.' Now, we are here because we intend to adhere to this resolution."

The Whig leaders having made it apparent by their silence as well as by their speeches for General Taylor, the Whig candidate for President, that they either did not "think the Free Soil question of consequence enough to speak upon," or that they did not feel at liberty to speak upon it, Dana refused to follow them.

Stated briefly, his position was that slavery was so great an evil that it could not be tolerated in territories where it did not exist, but that under the Constitution we could not interfere with it in the states where it was already established. This was the platform on which the Republican party was founded and upon which it made the contests in 1856 which resulted in the defeat of Fremont, and in 1860, when its victory made Abraham Lincoln president. In 1848, however, there were few who were ready to accept this doctrine. Mr. Dana was one of the few who left the Whig party and attended the Free Soil convention at Buffalo which nominated Van Buren and Adams. Into this independent movement he

threw himself with all his might; and while the result of the effort, measured by the votes cast at the election, was insignificant, nevertheless it sounded the knell of the Whig party and sowed the seed from which the Republican party was so soon to spring. Its seeming defeat was really a glorious victory. The men who met in Buffalo made the antislavery movement practical, and began the campaign which ended in the emancipation proclamation and in Appomattox.

Throughout this struggle Dana stood firmly with the Free Soilers and Republicans, but he supported them as a citizen and not as a politician, though generally in close touch with the Republican leaders. A brilliant political career was open to him, his abilities fitted him to lead, and his inclination prompted him to enter political life, but on the other hand the demands of his family made him stick to his profession, and in 1852, when he was asked to preside at the meeting held in Faneuil Hall to ratify the Free Soil nominations, he made his choice and refused, but his diary records his difficulty in reaching his conclusion:

"Never more distressed in my life to make a decision. Talked with Adams, Wilson and others. All wanted me to speak. Very reluctantly and quite unsatisfied determined to decline. Did so. I do not know that I ever so much regretted the want of property to enable me to do a great public duty."

"His poverty but not his will" declined, and the community lost the services of an able, brave, and sincere man whose presence in the public councils would have been invaluable during the great struggle which was then impending.

As I have said, every instinct of this conservative lawyer and churchman, this believer in constitution and law, made him a supporter of existing institutions and an opponent of agitators and fanatics; but when Texas had been annexed and the slave owners, growing more arrogant, passed the Fugitive Slave law, he rose to the emergency. This law permitted a man to swear before any obscure magistrate in a slave state that another man was his slave, and then required the marshals and commissioners of the United States, without considering whether this *ex parte* affidavit was true, to arrest the alleged slave and deliver him to the claimant on proof

only that the person arrested was the person mentioned in the affidavit, giving the commissioner if he remanded the slave a fee of ten dollars, and if he decided against the claimant a fee of only five,—a small bribe, you will say, but this was the day of small things, and the men who framed the law thought the difference worth making. By express provision of the law the testimony of the alleged fugitive could not be admitted, but, in the case of Anthony Burns, his casual replies to questions asked by the claimant after his arrest were admitted against him to establish his identity. His word could be taken to keep him a slave, but his oath would not avail to make him free. Had any one under such a law sought to take another's horse the community would have risen in arms against it, but when it was used to deprive a man and his descendants forever of freedom, the American people as a whole approved.

There were men who could not submit to such a travesty of law, men in whose hearts and minds the spirit of Anglo-Saxon freedom was too deeply rooted, and among them Mr. Dana was a leader. His opportunity came when a negro living in Boston as Frederick Jenkins was arrested as a fugitive slave under the name of Shadrach, and Mr. Dana in his diary states what followed:

"While in my office at about 10:30 Mr. Charles Davis, Parker and others came in and told me that the marshal had a fugitive slave in custody in the United States court room before Mr. George T. Curtis as commissioner. I went immediately over to the Court House."

He did not wait for a summons, but without hesitation volunteered to defend the unfortunate negro against the power of the United States, a step which affected his whole future, as he was soon to realize.

He was accepted by Jenkins as his counsel, and at once "prepared a writ of 'de homine replegiando' and a petition for a *habeas corpus* addressed to Chief Justice Shaw." Quoting again from Mr. Dana's diary:

"With this petition I called on the Chief Justice and stated to him that it was a case of an alleged fugitive slave, and that our object was to test the constitutional power of the commissioner to issue a warrant. The Chief Justice read the petition and said in a most ungracious manner, 'This won't do. I can't do anything on this,' and laid it upon the table and turned away to engage in something else."

Dana persisted and forced the Chief Justice from one objection to another, and as we read them we share Dana's opinion that they were "frivolous and invalid"; but finding the judge determined not to grant the writ, he withdrew to consider what further steps to take. Judge Metcalf, a man little inclined to speak, was present at Dana's interview with Judge Shaw, "and expressed himself very much disturbed by the conduct of the chief," and it is melancholy to think that the Chief Justice of Massachusetts should make every attempt to evade his duty in a case of such vital importance. While Dana was considering the situation, Jenkins or Shadrach was rescued, and so the case ended.

From that time on, to quote his own words, he had "the privilege of being counsel for every fugitive slave and for most of those who were indicted for rescue," and he discharged his duty as counsel with unflinching courage, great ability, and in most cases with success. It is impossible for us now to realize against what obstacles and at what a sacrifice he did this work.

When Sims, the next alleged fugitive slave, was arrested, "Mr. Sewall applied to the Supreme Court for a *habeas corpus*, and it was refused without argument. After it was refused Mr. Sewall asked leave to address the court in favor of the petition, and was refused." This was no petitfogger seeking to raise a frivolous question, but an eminent member of the bar representing all that was best in Massachusetts, of ancient descent and singularly high character, whom the court refused even to hear on a great question of human freedom. No wonder that during the following Saturday and Sunday leading lawyers like Charles G. Loring and Franklin Dexter spoke privately to the court, and that on their urgency an intimation was given that argument would be heard. Accordingly on the next day, without preparation, Mr. Dana addressed the court, and Mr. Rantoul followed, and within a few hours the court refused the writ. Such proceedings make us hesitate to speak of the "good old times," but they lend force to every argument against an elective judiciary or the recall of decisions or judges, since they prove that even a magistrate like Chief Justice Shaw could not rise above the political feeling of his time. This was a single instance of weakness, a single blot on a great judicial career. How much worse would our conditions be if, as a rule, a seat on the

bench could be obtained or held only by adopting the political views of the popular majority for the moment!

The men whom Dana served belonged to the weakest class in the world. They had neither votes, influence, nor property, nor even the rights of human beings. They could give him no compensation for his services, and when it was offered by others he returned it in a letter from which I quote the following:

"They [the donors] give me more credit than I am willing to receive. The good fortune which is said to attend early rising made me one of the first of the members of the bar, if not the first, to hear that there was a man in custody as a slave in the court room. To render myself at once on the spot and to offer my professional services to him and to those who were coming forward as his friends was an act I trust natural to me, and requiring no effort or sacrifice. . . . I have done so in the cause of alleged slaves in Boston heretofore, and so have others, and I hope the members of the bar in Massachusetts will never fail to be ready to render this service gratuitously to the cause of humanity and freedom. A portion of my time and the application of such influence and ability as I may possess is the only contribution I have to make. . . .

"Besides my own feeling in the matter, which would be conclusive with me, I would not have the force of the precedent, which has been set in the trials for freedom in Massachusetts thus far, impaired in the least for the honor of my profession and the welfare of those in peril."

These are words which it is pleasant to read in these days.

His course exposed him to serious personal danger. On the evening of the very day when Anthony Burns was carried back to slavery through the sullen streets of Boston, Dana was attacked on his way home by a ruffian hired to assault him, and received a blow which, had it fallen a very little to the right or left, would have blinded and perhaps killed him. The history of the attack and the capture and conviction of his assailant is a very interesting story, unhappily too long to be related here.

Having nothing to expect from his clients or their friends, he had on the other hand to face not only the frowns of the court and the hostility of society, but, as Mr. Adams says: "From the professional point of view this open and conscientious adhesion to the unpopular side affected Dana much more. . . . Nearly all the wealth and the moneyed institutions of Boston were controlled by

the conservatives, and among the moneyed institutions were the marine insurance companies. The ship-owners and merchants were Whigs almost to a man. It is, therefore, safely within the mark to say that Dana's political course between 1848 and 1860 not only retarded his professional advancement, but seriously impaired his income. It kept the rich clients from his office. He was the counsel of the sailor and the slave,—persistent, courageous, hard-fighting, skilful, but still the advocate of the poor and the unpopular. In the mind of wealthy and respectable Boston almost any one was to be preferred to him—the Free Soil lawyer, the counsel for the fugitive slave, alert, indomitable, always on hand. The Boston *Advertiser* even published an article signed by ‘The Son of a Merchant’ calling on all merchants to withdraw their business from Mr. Dana and to proclaim non-intercourse. It is impossible to say how many clients were prevented from going to Dana during his years of active practice by considerations of this sort; but the number was unquestionably large, and the interests they represented larger still. Indeed, brilliant as was his career at the bar, he never had what would be considered a lucrative practice; and that he did not have such a practice was due to prejudice connected with his early political associations. He too suffered for his advocacy of the poor and the oppressed. . . . Up to 1848 he was on exactly the right path,—the path to distinctive professional eminence. Had he adhered to it, he not improbably would at least have attained, had he so desired, that foremost place in the judiciary of Massachusetts once held by his grandfather. Most assuredly he would have risen to the front rank of his profession as a jurist of national fame.”

His partner, Francis E. Parker, wrote after Mr. Dana’s death:

“Baffled as he had been for more than twenty years, disappointed in every high ambition of his life, fallen in evil times and evil tongues, how bravely he kept his courage!”

It is true that he won neither great wealth nor high office, and that in his own commonwealth he saw many win both who were in no way superior to him in ability or character, like his arch-enemy Benjamin F. Butler; but “the wise years decide.” Weighed in the true scales, could any fortune, however large, or any office,

however high,—could anything that he won for himself outbalance the unselfish service which he rendered to others? Is self-sacrifice failure? Shall we measure success by what a man gets or by what he gives? Shall we forget the immortal words, “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me?”

Let us rather hold him up to the generous youth of this country as an example of the highest success, and say with Mr. Adams: “His connection with those cases was the one great professional and political act of his life. It was simply superb. There is nothing fairer or nobler in the long, rich archives of the law; and the man who holds that record in his hand may stand with head erect at the bar of final judgment itself.”

BISHOP LAWRENCE. No son of Harvard is more welcome than Mr. Choate. His loyalty to Harvard is expressed in a characteristic remark some years ago when he said, “When in London if I heard the name of any young man rising to distinction in America, no matter what part of America, I always took up the Quinquennial and looked to see in what year he graduated.”

We have just heard the eulogy of Rufus Choate by Mr. Dana, and we can be confident that if Mr. Dana could speak he would be much gratified to know that his position as a lawyer and a jurist was to be presented by Joseph Choate.

#### DANA AS A LAWYER AND A CITIZEN

JOSEPH H. CHOATE

I REGARDED it as a great honor to be asked to prepare a paper about Richard H. Dana, as a lawyer and citizen, for the celebration of the centenary of his birth.

He has been dead for thirty-four years, and sleeps in the old Protestant cemetery at Rome in company with Shelley and Keats in a land which he loved to visit and where his closing years were spent.

At such a distance of time the professional life and work of any lawyer, however distinguished, ceases to be of general interest unless connected with events which have become historical and of surpassing human interest. Fortunately for Mr. Dana, his active professional and public life of twenty-five years embraced the period of the Civil War and the thrilling events which preceded and followed it, and he was able to render signal services to the state and the nation which ought never to be forgotten.

The unusual fame which he had acquired as a very young man by the publication of "Two Years Before the Mast," which still reads like a romance and a companion-piece to "Robinson Crusoe," and the publication of the "Seaman's Friend," which naturally followed it, necessarily brought him a sort of maritime practice when he was admitted to the bar and opened a law office in 1841 at the age of twenty-six.

He had just married, was without independent means, and had every incentive, as he had abundant ability, to take a leading place in the profession for which his keen intelligence, his habits of profound thought, and his soaring ambition naturally fitted him. There was another thing which doubtless stimulated his hope and desire for the rapid advance in professional and public affairs, which might well have been expected from his brilliant talents and his undisputed ability. He was justly proud of his distinguished lineage, which ran back into colonial days. Several of his direct ancestors, whose names can be found in the Harvard Catalogue, had taken part in the public life of New England. His grandfather, Francis Dana, had been a delegate from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress, had signed the Articles of Confederation, had been appointed minister to Russia during the Revolutionary War, and after the adoption of the Constitution was for fifteen years Chief Justice of Massachusetts. There were, also, in the maternal line of his ancestry two colonial governors and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It cannot be denied, however, that he had a certain fastidiousness of manner which kept him aloof from the ordinary run of men. He had a natural liking for the best company, which he always frequented, and no desire to cultivate miscellaneous acquaintances, none of the hail-fellow-well-met to everybody, which naturally

tends to promote a young man's rapid advancement in the profession or in public life. But for all that he had a genuine enthusiasm for popular liberty and equality under the law, and an abiding faith in government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as it was advocated by Lincoln.

I doubt, too, whether he had that all-absorbing love of the law which is necessary to a highly sustained professional career. He loved to travel, and was particularly fond of the society of superior men and women. He evidently had a strong liking for public life, and an ambition for high office, which he was admirably qualified to fill, so that he followed the law rather as a means of livelihood than as an exalted vocation to which he could devote all his strong and manly qualities, and strive for success in it as though there were no other object worth living for.

His personal devotion to Washington Allston, who had married his father's sister, was strikingly characteristic, and I think he derived from Allston some of his habits of thought and of action.

Allston, besides being a great artist, was a man of rare and delicate and sensitive personality, quite likely to impress strongly a high-toned youth like Dana.

The latter says of him in his Journal: "He says that if things go on as they promise now that 'in eighty years there will not be a gentleman left in the country.' He says that the manners of gentility, its courtesies, its deferences, and graces are passing away from among us. Whether they pass away or no, he is a good specimen of them. Born of a distinguished family in Carolina, and educated in the feelings and habits of a gentleman, with a noble nature, a beautiful countenance, and a graceful person, what else could he be?"

And on the occasion of Allston's sudden death, he takes leave of him in these words: "The exquisite moral sense, the true spirituality, the kindness and courtesy of heart as well as of manner, the corresponding external elegance, the elevation above the world and the men and things of it, where have these ever been so combined before?" And the same question might well be asked about Mr. Dana.

His own early and even precocious literary success had something, I think, to do with shaping his subsequent life. It gave

him an easy footing in the society and friendship of the best men, such as Mr. Webster, Judge Story, George Ticknor, Charles Francis Adams, Franklin Dexter, Charles Sumner, George S. Hillard, and others who were the leaders of New England life, and he stood well with them all. Indeed, literature must have been his first love, which was evinced by his signal success in that direction even before he came of age, and by his devotion in later years to the company of those choice and kindred spirits and men of letters who composed the famous Saturday Club.

Mr. Horace Mann he did not altogether like; and no wonder, for there could hardly be two more opposite natures than theirs. When Mann was at the head of the Board of Education, he proposed to Mr. Dana that the Board of Education should publish his "Two Years Before the Mast" if he would practically rewrite it to suit Mr. Mann's practical ideas, and his account of their interview at which the matter was discussed is most amusing. It ended in Mr. Dana positively refusing to make any substantial changes in the book, and Mr. Mann being contented with nothing less than changes which would entirely destroy its character.

Too strenuous labor, after he reached the age of forty-five, seems frequently to have overtaxed Mr. Dana's strength. Up to that time he had a remarkable buoyancy and vigor which had been splendidly fortified by his two years at sea. A weakness of the eyes had compelled him to take the voyage of which his book is the record, out of the very heart of his college life, coming back to graduate with a class two years later than that which he had entered. From the beginning to the end of his professional life, whatever his hands found to do he did it with his might. His attention to details was extraordinary, and thus he was always in danger of overwork, which compelled him to take frequent vacations to counteract that danger.

There was one great hero with whom these vacation rambles brought him into close and interesting contact, and that was John Brown, not yet John Brown of Ossawatomie, but a plain and rugged farmer of North Elba in the Adirondacks, where he ran an active branch of the famous underground railroad, over which he was constantly conducting fugitive slaves to freedom.

More than twenty years afterward Dana wrote an account of it

for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and it is pleasant to read of Mr. Dana, fastidious though he was, sitting down to dinner with Mr. Brown and "his unlimited family of children, from a cheerful, nice healthy woman of twenty or so and a full-sized, red-haired son, who seemed to be foreman of the farm, through every grade of boy and girl to a couple who could hardly speak plain," and among them two fugitive negroes whom he had just brought in and whom he introduced to Mr. Dana as *Mr.* Jefferson and *Mrs.* Wait, as persons of entire social equality.

Little did he think, as he sat at that rude feast of "Ruth's best bread, butter, and corn cakes, with some meat and tea," that in a few years the rugged farmer, who sat at the head of the table and entertained him so cordially, would have become the great martyr of freedom, so that his name and his spirit would lead the embattled hosts of America to the final triumph of liberty and union!

Mr. Dana's first venture in polities, in his thirty-third year, in 1848, marked clearly his independence of spirit, his love of the right, and determination to maintain it at whatever cost, and his clear foresight into the political future. He had, like almost all Massachusetts boys, grown up as a disciple of Mr. Webster. He hated the Abolitionists who were altogether too unconventional for him, but he made his débüt in political life as chairman of the Free Soil meeting at the Tremont Temple. He declared: "I am a Free Soiler, because I am (who should not say so) of the stock of the old northern gentry, and have a particular dislike to any subserviency, or even appearance of subserviency, on the part of our people to the slaveholding oligarchy. I was disgusted with it in college and at the law school, and have been since, in society and polities. The spindles and day-books are against us just now, for Free Soilism goes to the wrong side of the ledger. The blood, the letters, and the people are our chief reliance."

It was a bold step for a young lawyer and statesman to come out in this way in 1848 in Boston, where Webster was still lord of the ascendant and where all the best people, with whom Dana had always been associated, were his devoted followers, and where there was a strong affiliation, as Charles Sumner put it, "between the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom." But Dana was not dismayed. He went to the Buffalo convention as a delegate

and came back to advocate the election of Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President, and from August to November he laid aside his law practice and devoted himself to making speeches for this seemingly hopeless cause, which he had the foresight to see would result by and by in the collapse of the Whig party and the prevention of the further extension of slavery. From this time forward he was generally recognized as one of the most brilliant and promising antislavery men of the country, rather to the horror and disgust of many of his old associates; and some of his social relations that had been of the warmest and closest character were broken off.

The wealth of Boston, its merchants and manufacturers and shipowners, were against him, and his success as a lawyer, which had been good at the start, must have been seriously interfered with; but little did he care for that, for he knew he was right and meant to stick to it, and presently, by the very reason of his political secession, his great opportunity came in the fugitive slave cases, which enabled him as a lawyer to render memorable service to the good of mankind.

I think myself that when the first attempts to enforce the fugitive slave law of 1850 were made in Boston, the great majority of the educated people, and, indeed, of all the people of Massachusetts, would have preferred that the enforcement of the odious law should be quietly submitted to without any demonstration against it. The compromise measures of 1850, of which that law was a part, had been accepted, strangely enough, as a finality. They had been advocated by Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Calhoun, all of them already old men, who had desired nothing so much as that the slavery question should be settled for once and forever, while they were still upon the political stage. They believed that the fugitive slave law was practically guaranteed by the Constitution, and that attempts to enforce it would result in no serious harm. In this, as the result showed, they proved to be blind leaders of the blind; but the people of Massachusetts generally were still inclined to follow their lead. But not so with Mr. Dana and Charles Sumner and Robert Rantoul. They appear to have recognized the binding force of the constitutional provision, that "no person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into

another state, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due"; but they believed also that this did not dispense with essential safeguards for the protection of persons involved, and especially that they were entitled to a trial by jury and to such other protection as might be afforded to them by legislative provisions of the states which would not be in conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

So when the first seizure under the odious law was made by the arrest of Shadrach in Boston on the 15th of February, 1851, Mr. Dana, having heard of it, instantly repaired to the Court House, and, offering his services to the fugitive, prepared and presented to Chief Justice Shaw a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in his behalf. But the learned Chief Justice was not inclined to interfere, and while Mr. Dana was considering going before another judge, a mob of negroes invaded the Court House and rescued the prisoner and enabled him to make his way to freedom. The arrest and the rescue and the attack upon the Court House made a tremendous sensation, and the federal authorities made strenuous efforts to punish somebody for the escape of the prisoner.

Among others they made a wholly unwarranted attack upon Mr. Charles G. Davis, who had assisted Mr. Dana in the proposed defense of Shadrach, charging him with aiding and abetting in the escape of the fugitive slave, with which he had no more to do than the man in the moon; but his trial before the United States commissioner occupied four days, and he was ably defended by Mr. Dana, whose argument in his defense is a model of forensic eloquence, a perfect gem; and Mr. Davis was discharged by the commissioner, who found no case against him.

In the meantime, Mr. Dana and Mr. Sumner were busily employed in drawing up laws to meet what they regarded as the dangers and outrages of the Fugitive Slave Bill, at the request of a committee of the legislature.

On the 7th of April in the same year another fugitive slave, Sims, was arrested by the marshal and his posse and locked up in the Court House, which was guarded by a huge force of policemen, and a chain was stretched entirely around it, so that everyone that

entered it, including the judges of the Supreme Court and parties having business before that tribunal, must go under the chain. Mr. Rantoul and Mr. Dana appeared in the Supreme Court and moved again for a writ of habeas corpus, which was promptly denied, the Chief Justice giving the opinion of the court refusing the writ. The opinion held that "the only question was whether the Commissioner could constitutionally act: — that the act of 1793 gave the same powers to magistrates which this act gives to Commissioners, and was acquiesced in for more than fifty years, and recognized, or at least was not decided to be unconstitutional by any court. So the court held that the point must be considered as settled by lapse of time, acquiescence, and recognition." And again Mr. Sumner and Mr. Dana went before a federal judge and made an ineffectual effort for release of the fugitive, and the next day, as Mr. Dana relates, between four and five o'clock in the morning "the poor fellow, with tears in his eyes, was marched on board a vessel, escorted by a hundred or more of the city police under orders of the United States marshal, armed with swords and pistols, and in a few minutes she sailed down the harbor."

In connection with this case it is pleasant always to remember that Judge Devens, who was the marshal on the occasion and had such an unpleasant duty to perform, afterward, when he became Attorney General of the United States in 1877, employed Sims as a messenger in the Department of Justice, which position he held for several years while Devens remained in office.

But one startling and immediate result of these two cases was the election, within a fortnight after the rendition of Sims, of Charles Sumner as United States Senator to fill the seat which Mr. Webster had occupied. Meanwhile Mr. Dana continued for several months the defense of the rescue cases, as they were called, and nobody that he defended was ever convicted.

One of the most singular of these cases was that of Elizur Wright, the celebrated journalist and linguist. He was tried for complicity in the rescue of Shadrach, and as he was absolutely innocent, he refused to have any counsel, but defended himself. The jury disagreed, standing eleven for conviction and one for acquittal, but on a new trial he was acquitted, being defended this time by Mr. Dana, who says that Wright was entirely clear of all connection

with the rescue in fact, although he was delighted with the result. The result of his trial, Mr. Dana says, showed the importance of the professional services of an advocate.

Mr. Dana's services in the cause of freedom continued as long as there was any slave-hunting upon the soil of Massachusetts, and ended on Boston's Black Friday, the 2d of June, 1854, when Anthony Burns, the last fugitive slave arrested under the act, was consigned by Judge Loring to the custody of the marshal to be escorted back to slavery.

Mr. Dana in his Diary thus describes it: "This was a day of intense excitement and deep feeling in the city, in the State, and throughout New England, and indeed a great part of the Union. The hearts of millions of persons were beating high with hope, or indignation, or doubt. The Mayor of Boston has ordered out the entire military force of the city, from 1500 to 1800 men, and undertaken to place full discretionary powers in the hands of General Edmonds. These troops and the three companies of regulars fill the streets and squares from the Court House to the end of the wharf where the revenue cutter lies, in which Burns, if remanded, will be taken to Virginia."

Mr. Dana labored very hard for the acquittal of this fugitive, and his argument at the conclusion of the case, which occupied four hours in its delivery, is so incisive and convincing that but for his adamantine conservatism Judge Loring, the magistrate, who was the learned Judge of Probate and a professor in the Dane Law School, might well have decided in favor of freedom and discharged the prisoner.

I have laid great stress upon the services of Mr. Dana in his fugitive slave cases, not only because of the intense interest in that exciting period of our history, but also because they placed him in the very front rank of his profession in Massachusetts and made him an exceedingly prominent figure among the public men of New England; and we should, I think, have expected that his aspirations for public office would have been sooner gratified. These services of his brought him no pecuniary reward, for they were rendered in behalf of those who were wholly without means or credit, and in the case of Anthony Burns, which was the most important of all, he absolutely declined all pecuniary compensation.

I have described these labors of Mr. Dana's as great services rendered not only to the State but to the Nation, because they aroused universal attention to the fact that the boasted compromise measures of 1850, which were designed to settle the slavery question forever, were not final, but a total failure; that freedom would not down at the bidding of Congress, even when led by the great statesmen of a past age. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster both died in 1852, Mr. Calhoun having preceeded them to the grave in 1850. Their compromise measures were buried with them, and the whole question had to be fought out in blood under the lead of Lincoln.

In the midst of these exciting and unrewarded professional labors, Mr. Dana spent three months in the summer of 1853 as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, of which many of the leading men of the state were members, and among whom, from his first appearance, although it was his first experience in a deliberative body, he at once came to the front.

Mr. Adams very justly says that "there was no man in the convention who rose more rapidly, or into greater prominence as a debater, than did Dana." And Charles Sumner, who was also a member, subsequently spoke of him as "the man of by far the greatest legislative promise," criticising only his tendency to over-debate, due to excessive readiness and facility. He took an active part in all the serious discussions, and in that which was the most important of all, the judiciary question, he made a most effective and conclusive argument, which Mr. Choate, who the next day made one of the great speeches of his life in the convention on the same subject, declared to be "such a speech as one hears once in an age." He spoke in favor of the proposition that it was inexpedient to make any change in the appointment or tenure of judges. There was some popular demand that Massachusetts should follow the example that had then been set by many of the states of the Union to have her judges elected by the people instead of appointed by the governor for life or during good behavior. There was also a proposition that the judges should be appointed by the governor and council for a term of ten years.

To both of these propositions Mr. Dana, from beginning to end,

made strenuous and unceasing opposition, culminating in the argument to which I have already referred.

Unfortunately, almost all the states of the Union have abandoned the ancient system of appointing judges for life or during good behavior, which has worked so admirably in England since the Revolution of 1688, in the United States federal system since the foundation of the government, and to this day remains intact in Massachusetts; and it is largely owing to the loyal and powerful exertions of such men as Mr. Dana and Mr. Choate that this commonwealth owes the retention of that system, which makes its judiciary, to say the least, compare favorably with that of the other states of the Union, and puts its courts side by side in the administration of the common law with those of England and with the Supreme Court of the United States.

If the people of Massachusetts understand their true interest and set a proper value upon the high-toned administration of justice as it prevails to this day in its courts, they will always reject all attempts from whatever quarter to make their judiciary elective. There is always a danger of efforts being made in that direction, and nothing shows more clearly the imminent character of that danger than the fact that in this very Constitutional Convention of 1853, the last, I believe, that has been held in Massachusetts, the Constitution, as adopted and submitted to the people, proposed the appointment of judges for the term of ten years, which led to its defeat by a majority of about six thousand in a total popular vote of 125,000, so that to-day your people stand on this question as they have stood ever since the adoption of the Constitution of 1780, and will, as I hope, stand forever. You have to-day an absolutely independent judiciary, as impartial as the lot of humanity admits, which helps to make the government of the commonwealth a government of laws, and not of men.

After all these labors Mr. Dana took a holiday, and had his first glimpse of Europe, to which he had long looked forward with eager anticipation. To be sure, it only lasted for two months, but he saw and enjoyed and recorded everything. He was just at the age to make the most of it, and so thorough and constant had his reading been all his life about England, that he seemed to know it all by heart, and revelled most heartily in all the places and

people with which his reading had made him so familiar. In English history especially he was thoroughly versed, and he lost no time in his haste to visit all the great and interesting historical places,—Westminster Hall, the Houses of Parliament, the Inns of Court, Kenilworth and Warwick Castle, the Courts of Justice, Stonehenge and Wilton, Greenwich and the Zoo, and St. James's Park,—and he happily fell in with many of the leading English men and women of the day, whom he appreciated, and they manifestly appreciated him. Nothing could possibly have been more to his liking, and he returned at the end of his perfect vacation thoroughly refreshed and renewed, to resume the daily work of his profession, which must have seemed to him after the supreme delights of the summer a little more arduous toil than ever before.

From 1856 to 1860 was the best and richest period of his professional life. He had some great cases, which attracted wide attention, in one of which, the Dalton case, the *cause célèbre* of the time, he proved himself a match single-handed against two great leaders of the bar, Rufus Choate and Henry F. Durant, who together opposed him, and but for the twelfth dissenting juror he would have won the case.

Those were the days of overwork for all eminent lawyers, for Mr. Choate, in summing up, talked for ten hours, taking two entire days of the court's time, and Mr. Dana followed and spoke for twelve hours, occupying parts of three days. Fortunately for us to-day time is more precious, the pressure upon the courts vastly more intense, and the two-hour rule would be strictly applied.

Those four years were much the hardest of Mr. Dana's life, and his constitution proved in the end wholly unequal to the strain; for at the end of them, in spite of occasional holidays and voyages, he completely collapsed in the midst of the argument of an exciting cause, and recalling the experience of his two years before the mast, he wisely concluded that nothing less than a voyage around the world would save him; and after a lapse of fifteen months, in which he made the circuit of the globe, concluding with a brief glimpse again of England, he returned home, once more in good health, to find his country in the midst of that great campaign of 1860 which resulted in the election of Lincoln and brought on the Civil War.

Through all that anxious period he held the office of United States Attorney for the district of Massachusetts, a position which he greatly magnified by his wonderful qualifications in character and ability, and he argued with a consummate power the prize causes in which the legality of the whole conduct of the government during the Civil War was directly challenged. Both in the District court of Massachusetts and in the Supreme Court of the United States, where he opened, and Mr. Evarts, the companion of his boyhood and his lifelong friend, closed, he cleared up all the difficult and knotty questions involved. Mr. Adams records that one who was present at the final hearing, after Mr. Dana had closed his argument, happened to encounter Judge Grier, who had retired to the corridor in the rear of the bench, and whose clear judicial mind and finely cultivated literary taste had keenly enjoyed the speech; in a burst of unjudicial enthusiasm he said: "Well your little 'Two Years Before the Mast' has settled that question; there is nothing more to say about it." Judge Grier shortly afterward stated the opinion of the court, affirming at almost every point the positions of the government, and giving the highest legal sanction to President Lincoln's acts. This was undoubtedly Mr. Dana's greatest professional achievement and the one to which he looked back to the end of his life with the utmost elation.

I should be doing great injustice to Mr. Dana if I failed to mention the famous speech he delivered in Faneuil Hall on June 21, 1865, at an important meeting called to consider the subject of the reorganization of the states lately in rebellion, and the address to the country which he prepared on that occasion, and which, like the speech, attracted wide notice.

Mr. Dana to the end of his days justly took great pride in this address, in which he seems to have led the way in claiming that the government, having put down the rebellion by force of arms, and holding all the rebel states in the "grasp of war," as he called it, might continue its military occupation of the conquered territory until it could secure what it regarded as a just solution of the tremendous questions involved.

He said: "We stand upon the ground of war, and we exercise the powers of war. I put that proposition fearlessly: The conquering party may hold the other *in the grasp of war* until it has secured

whatever it has a right to require. Having succeeded in this war, and holding the rebel states in our military occupation, it is our right and duty to secure whatever the public safety and the public faith require."

But he by no means justified those portions of the measures of reconstruction which led for a while to the shocking negro domination in several of the southern states, and in the same speech, and in the memorable address to the people of the United States, which was drawn by him, he did not ask that the nation should insist on an unconditioned universal suffrage for the freedmen, but that the right of suffrage should be given to them in such manner as to be impartial, and not based in principle upon color, but to be reasonably attainable by intelligence and character, putting them on the same ground of equality as prevails in Massachusetts, where the right to vote is secured alike to black men and white who can read and write.

It is safe, I think, to say that if the doctrines laid down by Mr. Dana in this speech and address had been more closely followed, great mischiefs would have been avoided and the terrible task of reconstruction would have been made more easy.

After the close of the war Mr. Dana resigned his office, and was not engaged in any more serious forensic conflicts, but he devoted two continuous years to his edition of Wheaton's "Elements of International Law," which he greatly enriched by a series of most learned and elaborate notes, and it may fairly be said that, until the outbreak of the present horrible war, this book of his, in which he embodied all the rich fruits of his learned and laborious life, was a great standard authority on the subject of which it treated, and was valued as such, not only in his own country, but in England and among the continental nations.

At this moment international law must be admitted to be in a state of suspense; at any rate when peace comes it will have to be restated and remade with all the changes necessitated by the exigencies of the war and its results. Even if it ends as we hope, international law cannot be taken up where it stood in August, 1914; but Dana's notes to Wheaton's Elements will form a most valuable stepping-stone to its future progress, by which, as we hope, the permanent peace of the world will be secured.

Let me give you a single illustration of how international law has failed to deal by any possibility with the difficulties presented by the present war, on the single subject of aëroplanes and Zeppelins, which have been causing so much havoc and dismay throughout the world during the last twelve months. When the Emperor of Russia issued his call for the first peace congress he referred to the subject of aircraft and commended it to the study of the first conference. The first conference met in 1899. They discussed the subject very fully, and finally concluded that the world was not ripe for action on their part; but they prohibited the throwing of projectiles from dirigible balloons or any other aircraft for the period of five years, expecting that the second conference would meet by that time and take the subject up with better knowledge. Well, no conference was called until eight years, in 1907. And there we had a great discussion on the subject. England and Germany were of one mind, to prohibit the throwing of these projectiles. Lord Reay, one of the leading English delegates, made a brilliant speech in support of the proposition to prohibit, in which he said that two elements, the land and the sea, were enough for war; that the air and the sky ought to be reserved for peace. And the result was that we, with consummate wisdom, as we thought, but with what seems to have been utter folly, renewed the prohibition for a period that should terminate with the adjournment of the third Hague conference, which has never met and perhaps will never meet. So it is all left in the air.

Mr. Dana still cherished his lifelong ambition for high political office, for which he was so admirably qualified, but this ambition was doomed to bitter disappointment, which, however, he never allowed to cloud his later years, for these were always cheerful, happy, and devoted to good works.

He accepted the nomination for Congress in the Essex district against the notorious General Butler, with whom he maintained an unequal contest single-handed. He proved to be no match for the general in the latter's characteristic rough-and-tumble methods of warfare, and came out at the end of the poll with an unhappily small vote. But he had the satisfaction of standing for the public credit against the avowed champion of repudiation.

Another visit to England and Scotland, again for health's sake,

brought him back to America to resume in a quiet way the practice of his profession. After his misadventure in the congressional election he had substantially abandoned all hope of public life, when suddenly, to his great surprise, President Grant in 1876 sent in his name to the Senate for the very office which of all others it would have given him the greatest pleasure to fill, and which, as I think, of all Americans he was then the most fit to fill and to adorn — the English mission. But here again he encountered obstacles which neither he nor the President could have expected. Politics of a very questionable character overwhelmed his nomination, and his old and doughty antagonist, with all the hostile company that he could muster, venomously besieged the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom the nomination had been referred. The nomination was reported adversely as the result of a very sorry chapter in senatorial politics.

Had his nomination been confirmed, Mr. Dana's appointment as minister to England would have been a perfectly ideal one. His character, his education, his sympathies, and all the associations of his life would have made him a most acceptable and popular representative of the United States in the mother country, and he in turn would have revelled in the duties and pleasures of the office. I regard his defeat as having worked a very serious loss to the governments and the people of both nations.

His defeat, however, did not prevent the State Department, of which Mr. Evarts was then the head, from selecting Mr. Dana as one of the counsel of the United States Government before the international commission appointed to meet at Halifax to dispose of the fisheries questions between the two countries, where again he rendered most excellent service, after which he bade farewell to the profession and spent his remaining days in Europe, contemplating and preparing for a new work upon international law, which unhappily he never lived to complete.

I confess my inability, in the space of time allotted, to do justice to Mr. Dana's lofty character and to his signally noble career, which was guided from first to last by high principle, an indomitable courage, a lofty independence of spirit, and a mind always conscious to itself of right. He met with many cruel disappointments, his aspiring dreams were not realized, but take him for all in all

he was a man of whom his native state and country may well be proud and give him a high place among their immortals.

I have said nothing of his private and domestic relations, but I cannot refrain from quoting what Mr. Parker, his partner for many years, said when he heard of his death: "He was the steadiest of friends, the most indulgent and affectionate to those whom he once honored with his friendship."

We may well close this celebration of the centenary of Mr. Dana's birth by commanding the study of his pure and dignified life and character to the young men of coming generations;—from first to last the perfect gentleman.

BISHOP LAWRENCE. In behalf of the Cambridge Historical Society may I thank you for your presence. It is appropriate that this meeting should be here in honor of a citizen of Cambridge, an Overseer of Harvard College, and a President of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa. And in your behalf I thank the Cambridge Historical Society for being the means of giving us such a beautiful revelation of the life and character of Richard Henry Dana.

## APPENDIX

### EXHIBIT IN CONNECTION WITH THE DANA CENTENARY IN THE TREASURE ROOM OF HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

October 14-22, 1915

Portrait of Richard Dana (1700-1772) by John Singleton Copley.

Harvard A.B. 1718. Trial justice, leading barrister with James Otis at the Boston Bar; frequently presided at Faneuil Hall meetings of the Sons of Liberty; drafted resolutions for the Massachusetts Legislature addressed to the King and Parliament; took the affidavit of Andrew Oliver not to enforce the Stamp Act, in 1765. Great grandfather of R. H. Dana, Jr.

The frame originally held a portrait of Governor Hutchinson, presented by him to Judge Edmund Trowbridge of Cambridge. Judge Trowbridge being a Tory, his family, afraid of an attack by the mob or of a visit from the Sons of Liberty, cut out and burned the portrait and put into the frame this portrait of Richard Dana, Trowbridge's brother-in-law.

Original affidavit of Andrew Oliver, commissioner of the Crown, taken before Richard Dana in 1765, binding himself not to enforce the Stamp Act. Hawthorne's "Grandfather's Chair" gives a description of the scene.

Portrait of Francis Dana (1743-1811) by Walter M. Brackett, from two old pastels (one by Sharples).

Harvard A.B. 1762. Son of Liberty, on special mission to Great Britain just before and in the early days of the Revolution, member of the Massachusetts Legislature and Continental Congress, signer of the Articles of Confederation, chairman of the committee of Continental Congress on war, on special mission with John Adams to France and Holland, appointed minister to St. Petersburg, where he went in 1781, member of the United States Constitutional Convention and of the Massachusetts Convention adopting the same, Chief Justice of Massachusetts. Grandfather of R. H. Dana, Jr.

Framed ink sketch copied from sketch by Jacob Bigelow of Dana house on Dana Hill, built in 1785 by Chief Justice Francis Dana. Burned down in 1839. R. H. Dana, Jr., was one of the Cambridge Volunteer Fire Department and was very active on the occasion. Lent by Miss E. E. Dana.

Portrait of Richard Henry Dana (1787-1879) by William M. Hunt.

Harvard A.B. 1808. Lawyer, member of Massachusetts Legislature, poet, essayist, and one of the editors of the North American Review. Father of R. H. Dana, Jr.

Photograph of R. H. Dana, Sen., at the age of eighty-five.

Portrait of R. H. Dana, Jr. (1815-1882), by G. P. A. Healy in 1876. (Upper half of the face is very good, but mouth and chin are not satisfactory.)

Photograph of another portrait of R. H. Dana, Jr., by G. P. A. Healy, belonging to the estate of his daughter, Charlotte (Dana) Lyman of Chicago.

Silhouette of R. H. Dana, Jr., in his boyhood.

Daguerreotype of R. H. Dana, Jr., taken in 1840.

Three daguerreotypes of R. H. Dana, Jr., taken in 1840, one of them with sailor cravat, and the others with the cravats of the time.

Photograph standing with left arm on chair, in full dress-suit, costume worn in addressing the Supreme Judicial Court, taken about 1848-1850.

Framed photograph of R. H. Dana, Jr. (enlarged), taken in the early fifties, about the time of the fugitive slave cases.

Three photographs of R. H. Dana, Jr., taken about 1870, 1872 and 1879.

Pen and ink sketch of the brig *Pilgrim* by J. Henry Blake, taken from a large water color which belonged to Captain Bangs Hallett, who commanded the *Pilgrim* in 1830, now in the possession of Judge Fred C. Swift of Yarmouthport. Presented by J. H. Blake.

Oil painting of the brig *Pilgrim*, made in 1911, by S. M. Chase, following accurately every detail of the description. The *Pilgrim* was built in 1825, at Medford, Mass., length 85 ft. 6 in., breadth 21 ft. 7½ in., depth 10 ft. 9¾ in., 180½ tons.

Picture of the *Alert* in a storm, painted by Charles H. Grant. This painting belonged to Captain William Dane Phelps, who commanded the *Alert*, 1840-1843. Lent by his daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Goodwin of Lexington.

Water color of the *Alert*, painted for Captain Phelps, when on the coast of California in 1840. Lent by Mrs. Goodwin.

Oil painting of the *Alert* by S. M. Chase, 1911, following accurately every detail of the description. The *Alert* was built in Boston in 1828, length 113 ft. 4 in., breadth 28 ft., depth 14 ft., 399 tons. Builder, Noah Brooks of Boston.

Large, fully rigged model of the *Alert* lent by Mrs. Henry F. Wild, Dana's daughter. (The deck not quite correct.)

Photograph of Captain Faucon who commanded the *Alert* and afterward the *Pilgrim* on the coast of California, taken in 1894 at the age of eighty-seven. Captain Faucon was frequently favorably mentioned in "Two Years Before the Mast."

Photograph of the Cliffs of San Juan Capistrano and Dana's Cove, California. Down these cliffs Dana risked his life to save a few hides, on the captain's call for a volunteer.

Photograph of the De la Guerra house, Santa Barbara, California.

Framed painting of the daughters of a Spanish Don in California in the early forties, supposed to be Doña Anita and Doña Angustias de la Guerra de Noriego y Carrillo, described in "Two Years Before the Mast." Lent by Mrs. Charles E. Goodwin.

Long panoramic photograph of San Diego Bay, seen across the site of the old hide houses. Lent by Mrs. H. F. Wild.

Photograph of doorway of mission at San Luis Rey, California.

Large wrought iron nail from hide house at San Diego, California. Lent by Mrs. H. F. Wild.

Tarpaulin hat worn by R. H. Dana, Jr., while at sea. These hats were worn on the back of the head, the sea fashion of those days. It was sewed and covered by Dana. (See chapter 26 of "Two Years Before the Mast.")

Flannel jacket and trousers cut and sewed by R. H. Dana, Jr., while at sea, as told in "Two Years Before the Mast."

Some of his other sea-clothes.

Personal log of Andrew B. Amazeen, chief mate of the *Pilgrim*, kept on passage home in the *Alert*, 1836. Lent by Edward C. Amazeen of Melrose.

Seaman's papers of Andrew B. Amazeen. Lent by Edward C. Amazeen.

Porellian and Phi Beta Kappa medals of R. H. Dana, Jr.

Manuscript dissertation of R. H. Dana, Jr., "Moral and Literary Character of Bulwer's Novels," winning the Bowdoin prize, at Harvard College, 1837.

Harvard College catalogues in which Dana's name appeared.

Dana's Diary (kept during the voyage), from which the manuscript of "Two Years Before the Mast" was written out.

From the manuscript of "Two Years Before the Mast," the account of the flogging.

Fugitive slave case. Brief and notes of R. H. Dana, Jr., in the trial of the negro Scott and others, 1851, for rescuing the slave Shadrach.

Short brief (about the size of one's hand) being the notes from which a four hours' argument was made by Dana against the rendition of Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave, 1854.

Notes taken by Mr. Dana during the trial of the same.

Silver salver presented May 2, 1854, to R. H. Dana, Jr., by Wendell Phillips and others, for his defense of Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave, Mr. Dana having refused any compensation for his services in that or any other fugitive slave case.

"Specimens of the British Poets." Presented to Mr. Dana in 1853 by a colored woman—"As a small token of my Respect for your untiring exertions not only in my cause, but in being a friend in all cases to a proscribed race.

Respectfully

ROSANNE TAYLOR."

A London edition of Hallam's works, in eight volumes, presented to Mr. Dana by Robert Morris, the first colored lawyer of Boston, and others of his race, with a grateful inscription. [This was not found in time for the exhibit.]

Commission of R. H. Dana, Jr., as United States District Attorney, signed by Lincoln and Seward.

Draft of a letter from R. H. Dana, Jr., to William M. Evarts, advising against the trial of Jefferson Davis for treason. Evarts and Dana had been appointed counsel by the government to conduct the trial in 1868, but their advice against the measure was accepted.

Vertical folder case containing letters received, newspaper clippings of speeches, resolutions and articles prepared by R. H. Dana, Jr., arranged chronologically. Six bound volumes of letters received by R. H. Dana, Jr., from 1838 to December, 1860.

Letter of Mr. Lee Warner introducing to R. H. Dana, Jr., his "young friend J. Bryce," the present Lord Bryce.

Letters from Lord Chancellor Cranworth, Chief Justice Campbell, and the Duke of Argyll, selected from letters received by R. H. Dana, Jr., while in England in 1856.

Letter of Lafayette to William Ellery, a signer of the Declaration, great grandfather of R. H. Dana, Jr.

Proclamation of Count Roehambeau, commander of the French fleet during the Revolutionary War, presented to William Ellery.

Letter from William Wordsworth, and copy of poem in handwriting of Mrs. Wordsworth, to Washington Allston, uncle-in-law of R. H. Dana, Jr.

Letter from Samuel Taylor Coleridge to Washington Allston.

*Editions of "Two Years Before the Mast"*

1849. New York, Harper & Bros. (Harper's Family Library, No. 106.) Bound in black cloth.

The first edition, published anonymously. This copy is full of pencil notes of correction and suggestion by the author's father, R. H. Dana, Sen.

The same. Bound in brown linen.

The same edition appeared subsequently with different dates in the imprint.

1841. London, Edward Moxon. Bound in half calf.

An author's edition, Moxon having voluntarily paid more for the privilege in England than Dana got from Harper & Bros. in America, though there was then no international copyright.

1854. London, G. Routledge & Co. 12th thousand.

1869. Boston & New York, Ticknor & Fields.

With illustration at head of first chapter.

Other copies of the same date have imprint, Boston, Fields, Osgood & Co., successors to Ticknor and Fields.

The preface to this "New edition" reads: "After twenty-eight years, the copyright of this book has reverted to me. In presenting the first 'author's edition' to the public, I have been encouraged to add an account of a visit to the old scenes, made twenty-four years after, together with notices of the subsequent story and fate of the vessels, and of some of the persons with whom the reader is made acquainted. R. H. D., Jr. Boston, May 6, 1869."

1869. London, Sampson Low, Son & Marston.

With frontispiece, and chapter "Twenty-four Years After."

1871. Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., late Ticknor & Fields and Fields, Osgood & Co. With illustration at beginning of first chapter, and additional chapter "Twenty-four Years After."

1872. The same.

1873. The same.

1875. The same.

1877. Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black.

With frontispiece and vignette on title page; contains glossary of sea terms and drawings of ships evidently taken from Dana's Seaman's Manual.

1879. Boston, Houghton, Osgood & Co.

Same as James R. Osgood & Co.'s editions.

1890. New York, Worthington Co.

1894. London, Glasgow and Dublin, Blackie & Son, Ltd. (Blackie's School and Home Library.)

1895. Boston & New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.  
 With illustration at head of first chapter and chapter "Twenty-four Years After."

1895. Boston & New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.  
 The same as the last, but with portrait of R. H. Dana, Jr., as frontispiece (from daguerreotype of 1840, with sailor necktie).  
 Another copy.  
 Illustrated with photographs taken on the spot in California and maps inserted. Handsomely bound in leather, with manuscript index. Presented to the widow of the author in 1896 by her nephew and niece. Full-rigged ship embossed on cover.

[1895.] Boston & New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Riverside Literature Series.)

1895. Philadelphia, Henry Altemus.  
 With picture of full-rigged brig as frontispiece. Title page in red and green.  
 A few wood-cut illustrations through the book. Abridged.

1896. New York, Boston and New Orleans. University Publishing Co. Paper cover.  
 Abridged for school reading with an introduction and notes. (Very much abridged.)

1896. Boston, New York and Chicago. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Riverside School Library.)

1899. London, Adam & Charles Black.  
 With illustrated cover in colors; illustration on back and front; frontispiece and title page with illustrations of vessels and a glossary of sea terms; ship's sail and rigging evidently taken from Dana's Seaman's Manual.

1900. New York, D. Appleton & Co. (World's Great Books Series, Aldine edition.)  
 Bound in green buckram. With critical and biographical introduction by Charles Warren Stoddard; with chapter "Twenty-four Years After." Portrait.

1909. New York, P. F. Collier & Son. (Harvard classics.)  
 With introduction, notes and illustrations; photograph from portrait by Miss Pertz opposite title page.

1909. New York, Macmillan Co. (Pocket American & English Classics.)  
 Frontispiece portrait and autograph. School edition with glossary. With introduction and notes by Homer Eaton Keyes.

1911. New York, Macmillan Co.  
 With introduction by Sir Wilfred Grenfell and illustrations by Charles Pears. Handsome edition with colored illustrations and good type.

1911. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.  
 With a supplement by the author, and introduction and additional chapter entitled "Seventy-six Years After," by his son. Indexed; appendix with information regarding the vessels, their crews and officers. Colored illustrations by E. Boyd Smith. Front cover illustration from S. M. Chase's picture of the *Alert* (colored). Charts of the voyage and of the coast of California on fly-leaves at the beginning and end of book.  
 The same in two volumes. Bound in canvas.  
 Edition de luxe, with many additional drawings and sketches, etc. Limited edition, large paper.

#### *Undated Editions*

Philadelphia, Henry Altemus.

With frontispiece portrait marked Richard H. Dana, Jr., but in reality a picture of his father. Somewhat abridged. A picture of the brig was substituted as frontispiece in a later edition.

New York, Hearst & Co.  
 Illustrated cover back and front.

New York, F. M. Lupton Publishing Co. Green paper cover.

New York, A. L. Burt.  
 Full-page illustration of a barkentine opposite title page.

New York, Merrill & Baker. (The Levant edition.)  
 Full-page illustration of fishing boat hauling ship in fog opposite title page.  
 Title page in red and black.

New York, John W. Lovell Co.  
 Date of purchase, December, 1889.

New York, Lovel, Coryell & Co.

New York, American Publishers' Corporation.

London, New York and Melbourne, Ward, Lock & Co.  
 Frontispiece a full-page illustration of the brig.

London, J. M. Dent & Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. (Everyman's Library, edited by Ernest Rhys.)

London, Milner & Sowerby.  
 With frontispiece of brig and irrelevant picture on title page. With additions and appendix not by the author.

London, Frederick Warne & Co. Paper cover.  
 Includes a glossary of sea terms.

London, T. Nelson & Sons. (Sixpenny Classics.)  
 Photogravure of brig before the wind with full sail set. Much abridged. This copy bought in Glasgow, 1913.

The same.  
 With wrapper marked "Price in France 1 fr." This copy from Paris, 1915.  
 In the Congressional Library there is a Dutch translation printed in Holland. In a catalogue of foreign books is advertised a German translation, evidently taken from Harper's anonymous edition, but attributed to James Fenimore Cooper, and a French translation, anonymous.  
 Fifty-four editions or more, issued by thirty-two different publishers, are known.

*Editions of "The Seaman's Friend"*

The Seaman's Friend; containing a treatise on practical seamanship, with plates; a dictionary of sea terms; customs and usages of the merchant service; laws relating to the practical duties of master and mariners.

1841. Boston, Charles C. Little & James Brown and Benjamin Loring & Co.; New York, Dayton & Saxton, and E. & G. W. Blunt; Philadelphia, Carey & Hart.

1847. Boston, Thomas Groom & Co. 5th edition.  
 Interleaved, with a few notes by the author.

1851. Boston, Thomas Groom & Co. 6th edition, revised and corrected.

1854. Boston, Thomas Groom & Co. 7th edition.  
 An 8th edition was issued in 1856, and a 9th in 1857.

1861. Dana's Seamen's Friend. New edition revised and corrected; and with notes by James Lees. London & Liverpool, George Philip & Son.

1871. The Seaman's Manual. 12th edition, revised and corrected in accordance with the most recent acts of Parliament. By John J. Mayo, registrar general of shipping and seamen. London, E. Moxon, Son & Co.

*Editions of "To Cuba and Back. A Vacation Voyage"*

1859. Boston. Ticknor & Fields.

Two copies, one a presentation copy, "Sarah W. Dana, from her husband, the author, May 20, 1859." One, with autograph of author.

1859. London. Smith, Elder & Co.

1887. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Fourteenth edition.

Wheaton's Elements of International Law. Eighth edition. Edited, with notes, by R. H. Dana, Jr. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1866.

Presentation on fly leaf to Edmund T. Dana, brother of the author in the author's handwriting.

Reprint of Richard Henry Dana's Note (215) to Wheaton's International Law, illustrating the rights of law as to neutrals, printed by the executive department for the use of the agents and attorneys of the United States at the arbitration at Geneva, with a letter from J. C. Baneroff Davis, Department of State, Washington, August 3, 1871.

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A full collection of arguments, reports, and articles in magazines and in pamphlet form including Lexington Centennial oration; the Old South argument; the defense of Rev. I. S. Kallock; the argument in the Dalton divorce case; tribute to Judge Sprague; address on Edward Everett; argument against the proposed removal of Judge Loring; speech at Manchester, N. H., just before the opening of the Civil War; Faneuil Hall address on the question of reconstruction; Enemy's territory and alien enemies; trial of Rev. O. S. Prescott; the Bible in schools; usury laws and several reprints; argument before the Halifax Fisheries Commission; argument in the Amy Warwick prize cause; defense of Charles G. Davis charged with attempt to rescue fugitive slave; argument against the incorporation of the town of Belmont; argument on the judiciary; report of Overseers; article on Francis Dana, grandfather of R. H. Dana, Jr.; on the discovery of ether; argument in defense of Anthony Burns; speech on the reorganization of the rebel states, June 21, 1865; voyage on the Grand Canal, Atlantic Monthly, May, 1891; Allston and his unfinished picture, Atlantic Monthly, 1889; On Leonard Woods, Scribner's Monthly, November, 1880; sketch of American diplomacy, Scribner's Monthly, August, 1880; how we met John Brown, Atlantic Monthly, 1871.

Richard Henry Dana, Jr. Speeches in Stirring Times and Letters to a Son, edited with introductory sketch, a bibliography and notes by Richard H. Dana, 3d. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1910.

With a bill of sale of slaves inserted.

Richard Henry Dana. A Biography: By Charles Francis Adams. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890. 2 vols.

A later revised edition of the same.

## THE THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING

**T**HIE THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, being the eleventh annual meeting, was held on the 26th day of October, 1915, at eight o'clock in the evening, in Agassiz House Theatre, Radcliffe College.

In the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents, the meeting was called to order by the Secretary. Hollis Russell Bailey was chosen chairman. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Reports of the Council, the Secretary, the Curator, and the Treasurer, with the Report of the Auditor, were presented as follows:

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FOUR meetings of the Couneil were held during the year.

At the first meeting, held Oetober 27, 1914, the President read a letter from George G. Wright, offering to will to the Society his local historieal material. Mrs. Gozzaldi read a letter from Elias Howe Stockwell, stating that he had sent to the Society, as a loan, a portrait of Elias Howe.

At the second meeting, held December 29, 1914, various changes were made in the funtions and membership of several of the Standing Committees. A special Committee was appointed to secure new members and, to the present writing, it has added thirty-three names to the roll.

At the third meeting, held March 31, 1915, a communication was received from the librarian of the Cambridge Public Library, offering to donate duplicates of Cambridge directories and other volumes. It was voted to print in the Proceedings of the Society the Longfellow Medal essay by Margaret Charlton Black.

At the fourth meeting, held May 17, 1915, it was voted that

Mrs. Gozzaldi be authorized to purchase the Inman journals, the expense not to exceed \$100. The purchase was effected for \$60.

The Report of the Secretary, being confined to a notice of the several meetings of the year, is not printed.

No formal Curator's report was presented, and the list of gifts for the year will be printed in the next volume of the Proceedings.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1914-1915.

#### CASH ACCOUNT

##### RECEIPTS

Balance 28 October, 1914 . . . . .	\$330.92
Admission fees . . . . .	\$52.00
Annual Assessments: Regular Members . . . . .	\$453.00
Associate Members . . . . .	6.00
	459.00
Interest . . . . .	.96
Society's Publications sold . . . . .	4.75
	516.71
	<u><u>\$897.63</u></u>

##### DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing . . . . .	\$289.33
Samuel Usher, printing notices of meetings, etc. . . . .	52.75
Mrs. E. W. Hildeburn, George Inman Journals . . . . .	60.00
Ella S. Wood, services as cataloguer . . . . .	36.00
Remington Typewriter Co., rent of typewriter . . . . .	4.00
Edith L. Wilde, clerical services rendered the Treasurer . . . . .	25.00
Radcliffe College, use of theatre . . . . .	3.22
William H. Cutler, use of "Emerson J" for meeting . . . . .	1.00
Typewriting reports, papers, etc. . . . .	17.45
Postage, expressage, stationery and all petty items . . . . .	17.57
	506.32
Balance on deposit 22 October, 1915 . . . . .	391.31
	<u><u>\$897.63</u></u>

HENRY H. EDES,  
*Treasurer.*

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1915.

## REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I FIND the foregoing account from 28 October, 1914, to 22 October, 1915, to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the cash balance of \$391.31.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,  
*Auditor.*

BOSTON, 25 October, 1915.

The Report of the Committee on Nomination of Officers was read and accepted, and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the year 1915-16:

<i>President</i> . . . . .	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
<i>Vice-Presidents</i> . . . . .	ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE WORthington Chauncy Ford
<i>Secretary</i> . . . . .	ALBERT HARRISON HALL
<i>Curator</i> . . . . .	ALBERT HARRISON HALL
<i>Treasurer</i> . . . . .	HENRY HERBERT EDES

*The Council*

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS	SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE	FRANK GAYLORD COOK
WORthington Chauncy Ford	MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI
ALBERT HARRISON HALL	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
HENRY HERBERT EDES	Alice Mary LONGFELLOW

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to Richard Henry Dana for his long and faithful service as President during a period of ten years.

No papers were read at this meeting, and, the officers having been elected, the meeting was dissolved.

## NECROLOGY

ABBOTT, MISS CARRIE FRANCES, was born July 1, 1854, at Brighton, Massachusetts, where the early years of her life were spent. She was directly descended from Major Simon Willard of Colonial fame. In girlhood she moved with her parents to Cambridge, which thereafter was her home. She was one of four children and their last survivor. Her education was obtained in private schools of Cambridge, of which Mr. Gale's school for young ladies was the last. In religious thought Miss Abbott was a Unitarian, and for many years was a member of the First Church in Cambridge and shared its varied interests. She was interested in the philanthropic and educational institutions of Cambridge, including the Cambridge Hospital, the Avon Home, the Cambridge Homes for Aged People, the Associated Charities of Cambridge, and Radcliffe College. She was actively connected with the Associated Charities, where she rendered excellent service as a friendly visitor. All of the above institutions were beneficiaries under her will. Music was a deep abiding influence throughout her life, and besides this she had decided tastes for literature, English and German, travel, and the occupations of out-of-door life.

Miss Abbott possessed the New England temperament to a marked degree, being a person of strong convictions, frank utterance, ready wit, and independence of character.

She endured a long, wearying illness, throughout which she was an example of remarkable fortitude. Her death occurred June 1, 1909.

ABBOTT, THE REV. EDWARD, D.D., was born in Farmington, Maine, July 15, 1841. He was the youngest son of Jacob and Harriet Vaughan Abbott. He was prepared for college partly under the tuition of his brothers and partly at the Farmington Academy. He received the degree of A.B. at the University of New York in 1860, and his alma mater in 1890 honored him with the degree of doctor of theology.

After leaving college, in 1860, he entered Andover Theological Seminary, preparatory to becoming a minister of the Congregational Church. His ordination took place on July 28, 1863.

While still connected with the Andover Seminary he spent some months with the Army of the Potomac in the service of the United States Sanitary Commission.

In 1865 he organized what has since become the Pilgrim Church in Cambridgeport. In 1869 he severed his connection with this church and became associate editor of the *Congregationalist*. From 1877 to 1888 and again from 1895 to 1903 he was editor of the *Literary World*.

While living in Cambridge, after the close of the war, he served as a member of the school board. In 1872 and 1873 he was chaplain of the Senate of the Commonwealth.

In 1878 he joined the Episcopal Church. His life with the Congregationalists was one of happiness and usefulness. He had the esteem of his brethren and their confidence, manifested in the positions of honor in which from time to time he was placed. There was no bitterness in the separation, and love and goodwill always prevailed upon either side.

Immediately after his confirmation by Bishop Paddock, Mr. Abbott was appointed a special lay reader in charge of St. James, then a small and struggling mission in Cambridge. He was ordained deacon January 8, 1879, and on January 20, 1880, he was made priest and became the rector of the parish. In spite of many urgent and attractive calls to go elsewhere, he continued with St. James for twenty-eight years, when he was made rector emeritus.

He married first, February 16, 1865, Miss Clara Davis. Their children were Edward Apthorp, Madeline Vaughan, and Eleanor Hallowell. His first wife died May 25, 1882, and he married again, August 21, 1883, Miss Katherine Kelley, daughter of Hon. Alfred and Mary Seymour Welles Kelley, of Columbus, Ohio.

He died in Boston April 5, 1908. He held many important offices, both within and without the Church. He was secretary of the standing committee of the diocese, a deputy to the general convention, and dean of the Eastern Convocation. He was president of the Associated Charities of Cambridge and president of the Cambridge City Mission.

Immersed as he was in Church work, he nevertheless found time for literary work of no mean character. He was the author of many books and papers, including "A Paragraph History of the American Revolution," "A Paragraph History of the United States," and a "History of Cambridge."

He was a very quiet and unassuming man. As a pastor he was surpassed by few. As a preacher of the word of God he stood among the highest. He had the courage of his convictions. He was a loyal friend.

BAKER, MISS CHARLOTTE ALICE, was born April 4, 1833, at Springfield, Massachusetts. Her father was Matthew Bridge Baker of Charlestown, her mother Catharine Catlin of Greenfield. Her father, after three years at Harvard, took up the study of medicine and then married and settled at Springfield, Massachusetts.

Dr. Baker was a descendant of Thomas Baker, who was in Roxbury as early as 1640, and of Deacon John Bridge, who was in Cambridge in 1633.

Catharine Catlin traced her ancestry back to Mr. John Catlin (son of John of Wethersfield), who came to Deerfield soon after its permanent settlement in 1671. On her mother's side Catharine Catlin came from Rowland Stebbins (Roxbury, 1634), who with William Pynchon was a founder of Springfield.

Miss Baker's story of her childhood was printed in 1870 under the title "The Doctor's Little Girl." She was a pupil at Deerfield Academy and for one year at Dr. Cornelius Sowle Cartée's school in Charlestown.

She early became a teacher and was for a short time with her aunt at La Salle, Illinois, and for a longer period at Deerfield Academy. Then from 1856 to 1864 she was in Chicago with her friend, Miss Susan Minot Lane.

In 1864 the school in Chicago was given up and the two friends came to live with Miss Baker's mother in Cambridge. Miss Baker now engaged in the work of writing articles and reviews for newspapers and magazines and also papers upon historical subjects. Her work as a teacher was not abandoned, and after a short interval she with Miss Lane opened a school on Charles Street in Boston. In 1882, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Barthold Schlesinger, Miss Lane and Miss Baker moved their school to the beautiful Schlesinger estate in Brookline, where they continued until Miss Lane's death in 1893.

Miss Baker's great interest was in Deerfield and in Deerfield Academy. She prepared and read many papers before the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association of Deerfield. In 1897 she printed a volume containing thirteen of these papers, entitled "True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars." In the preface she wrote: "I have taken upon myself a mission to open the door for their return." She went several times to Canada, searching the records there. Of the Deerfield captives she learned of eighteen whose fate had not been known and also learned the fate of many more from other New England towns. The value of this work was fully recognized, and she was invited to membership in the New York and Montreal Historical

Societies and was often asked to speak on historical subjects in the Old South Church in Boston.

She owned and lived in the oldest and most interesting house in Deerfield. She named it Frary House, after her ancestor, Sampson Frary, who may have built it as early as 1683. She provided that it should go ultimately to the Historical Association in Deerfield. She was one of the trustees of Deerfield Academy and worked untiringly to strengthen it. The "C. Alice Baker Endowment Fund" constitutes her fitting memorial.

She died in Pittsfield May 22, 1909. The meeting house bell tolled the number of her years to tell the people of Deerfield that they had lost their friend and benefactor.

BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHINGHAM, was born May 17, 1829, in the town of Westminster, the son of William S. and Elizabeth (Emerson) Bradbury. His paternal ancestor, Thomas Bradbury, came to Maine in 1634, and his maternal ancestor, Thomas Emerson, came to Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1635. Thomas Bradbury came to New England as the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the proprietor of what is now the State of Maine. Thomas removed to Ipswich, where he continued to live, holding many town offices. He was also a representative to the General Court for seven years. The wife of Thomas was accused of being a witch and was tried and convicted, but sentence was never imposed. William S. Bradbury was one of the leading men of Westminster and held many offices in the town and also served several terms in the Legislature.

William F. Bradbury received his early education in the schools of Westminster. He then entered Amherst College and was graduated in 1856 as the first scholar in his class.

He came to Cambridge soon after his graduation and was appointed submaster of physics and mathematics in the high school. In 1864 he was named as the Hopkins classical teacher and retained that title throughout his connection with the school. He became head master of the school in 1881, and when the school was divided in 1886 he was made head master of the Cambridge Latin School. He continued in this position until his retirement in 1910 after a total service of fifty-four years.

Mr. Bradbury was a great educator and placed his school in the first rank of American high schools. In 1900 his scholarship was recognized by his alma mater, which conferred on him the degree of L.H.D. He wrote many schoolbooks and was the author of many papers upon educational subjects. He belonged to a number of

teachers' clubs and associations and served as treasurer of the Teachers' Annuity Guild.

His love for music was deep and abiding. He joined the Handel and Haydn Society in 1864, was elected a director of the society in 1871, and was made its secretary in 1899. He held this office until 1909, when he was elected president and served in that capacity until his death. After his retirement from school work he wrote a "History of the Handel and Haydn Society." Mr. Bradbury took a keen interest in local politics and served for one year in the common council.

He was married August 27, 1857, to Margaret Jones of Templeton. He died October 22, 1914. His wife and three children survive him.

He will be missed not only as a distinguished citizen, but as a friend and companion.

**BROWN, JOHN GREENWOOD**, was born in Cambridge November 24, 1846, and was a lifelong resident of our city. He died January 1, 1908. He was survived by his wife, to whom he was married in 1871, and also by one daughter, Miss Elizabeth G. Brown.

Mr. Brown received his education in the public schools of Cambridge. Upon leaving school he entered the iron and steel trade and continued in this business until his death. He was for some years a member of the firm of Bacon and Brown and later was president of the Brown-Wales Company. He was uniformly successful in his business career and had the hearty respect of all his associates. To an eminent degree he exemplified the Christian virtues amid the strenuous activities of a prosperous business life. He became a member of the First Baptist Church during the pastorate of Rev. Sumner P. Mason. Subsequently he joined the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, in which he long served as deacon.

He was a director, and for a short time president, of the Cambridge Young Men's Christian Association. He belonged to the Cambridge Club, the Iron and Hardware Club, and the Cambridge Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

He will be remembered for his kindly earnestness, his unremitting zeal in every noble effort, and his generous support of many worthy undertakings.

**COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL**, the son of Charles Northend and Margaret Elizabeth (Russell) Cogswell, was born in South Berwick, Maine, June 1, 1841.

He came to Cambridge in 1852 and was a pupil at the Webster

Grammar School. Having fitted for college at the Cambridge High School and with John Noble (H. C. 1850), he entered with the class of 1864. At the end of his sophomore year he enlisted in Company F, Forty-fourth Regiment, M. V. M., and served until June, 1863. He came back to college for a short time and left during the first term of his senior year.

In October of this year he was married to Sarah Parks Proctor of Great Falls, New Hampshire. Soon after this he began the study of medicine with Professor Jeffries Wyman at Cambridge, attending the lectures at the Harvard Medical School during the winter of 1864-1865. In the fall of 1865 he entered the Harvard Medical School and remained until July, 1867, when he received the degree of M.D. and began the practice of medicine in Cambridge. In 1871 he received the degree of A.B. (out of course) as of the class of 1864.

He was a member of the school committee of the city of Cambridge from 1869 to 1879 and health officer of the city in 1878 and 1879.

In September, 1880, he removed to New York, where he remained two years, and then returned to Cambridge and resided at 61 Kirkland Street until his death.

He was a member of the board of aldermen during the years 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1890, and served for several years as a trustee of the public library. He was elected a trustee of the Cambridge Hospital in 1897, and for seventeen years devoted much of his time and thought to the affairs of that institution. Elected warden of St. Peter's Church, Cambridge, in 1866, he served for forty years in that office and was then made warden emeritus. He was a director of the Charles River National Bank from 1909 to 1914. A member of the board of investment of the Cambridge Savings Bank for nearly twenty-five years, he served as a vice president for four years, and in June, 1911, was elected president of the bank, which office he held until his death on December 22, 1914.

His wife, Sarah P. Cogswell, died in 1907, and his four children, Charles N., George P., Margaret E., and Edward R. Cogswell, survive him.

GOODWIN, MISS AMELIA MACKAY, with her nine *Mayflower* ancestors, her descent from a long line of Puritan dignitaries, and her own interest in New England traditions, belonged by right as well as by choice to an historical society. Her father was the Rev. Hersey Bradford Goodwin, the scholarly and admired young Concord min-

ister, the colleague of Dr. Ripley, and her mother was Amelia Mackay of Boston. Mr. Goodwin died when his daughter was about three years old, and his wife died soon after him, leaving her two children, Hersey Bradford and Amelia Mackay Goodwin, to the wise and tender care of her brother and sister, Mr. Barnard Mackay and Miss Frances M. Mackay. Prof. William Watson Goodwin was the son of the Rev. Mr. Goodwin and his first wife and lived through his youth with her family in Plymouth.

Miss Goodwin was a lady of modesty and refinement, with no touch of modern aggressiveness, devoted to her friends, of whom she had many, and a lover of animals, of birds, and of flowers. She was courteous and considerate and wished always to give her full share of money, service, and hospitality to the community, and her well-considered private charities were numerous. The Unitarian Church and its interests were much in her mind, and she did for it and the Indian Association regular, thorough, and conscientious work. She cared for reading and good literature. A friend said of her that she was conservative by inheritance and by taste, but was unusually open minded to new ideas; and even for those she could not accept she showed an amused tolerance. She had a marked personality; she was true and loyal and had a full, useful, but uneventful life.

Miss Goodwin's manner was gentle and self-distrustful, but she had the Puritan iron in her blood, which made her "to true occasion true." She bore bravely the sorrows of life and she had the common sense and the faith which accepts the inevitable with patience and with hope; and the dignified serenity with which, for several hours, she consciously awaited death, saying she was not unhappy in the expectation, would have made her ancestors proud of their descendant.

Miss Goodwin was born in Concord, Massachusetts, on October 23, 1835, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 21, 1914.

**GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN, LL.B., LL.D.**, was born at Brighton, Massachusetts, July 14, 1839, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, February 25, 1915. He was the son of Horace Gray (H. C. 1819) and his second wife, Sarah Russell (Gardner) Gray, who was the daughter of Samuel Pickering Gardner (H. C. 1786).

He was married June 4, 1873, to Anna Lyman Mason, daughter of the Rev. Charles Mason (H. C. 1832) and granddaughter of the Hon. Jeremiah Mason (Y. C. 1788). They had two children, Roland Gray (H. C. 1895) and Eleanor, wife of Henry D. Tudor (H. C. 1895).

After studying at the Boston Latin School he entered Harvard in 1855 and was graduated in 1859, receiving the degree of A.B. He then attended the Harvard Law School and received the degree of LL.B. He served in the Union Army, 1862-1865, as second lieutenant in the Forty-first Massachusetts Infantry and in the Third Massachusetts Cavalry and as aide-de-camp to Gen. George H. Gordon. He finally became a judge advocate with the rank of major.

After the war he entered upon the practice of law in Boston, in partnership with John Codman Ropes, and continued in practice until his death.

December 24, 1869, he was appointed lecturer at the Harvard Law School and continued as such until March 18, 1875, when he became Story professor of law. November 12, 1883, he was transferred to the Royall professorship, which position he held until he resigned February 1, 1913, and became Royall professor of law emeritus. He was the author of "Restraints on Alienation," "The Rule against Perpetuities," "Cases on Property," and "The Nature and Sources of the Law."

Mr. Gray was president of the Harvard Alumni Association, president of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, fellow and vice president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and president of the Boston Bar Association. He received the degree of LL.D. from Yale in 1894 and from Harvard in 1895.

In active practice Mr. Gray was not a jury lawyer. He was an adviser, an arguer before courts of last resort, a man of learning and experience in every part of the law, and an unsurpassed expert in the law of property. His strength lay in thoroughness, clearness, and the ability to combine learning with common sense. He was in the first rank at the bar, and yet he found his career as a teacher more interesting and considered it more important. He began as a lecturer before the time of Langdell and Ames and continued his own method after they had made the case system a success. But eventually he became a convert, adopted that system, and produced six volumes of cases for the use of his classes.

Mr. Gray kept up his interest in the ancient classics and read Homer for pleasure. Similarly he amused himself with mathematics, including the calculus. The intricacies of theology interested him profoundly, but he was not neglectful of novels and of art. He had an even temper, frankness of utterance, kindness, humor. He treated his pupils as fellow students, working with them on an equal footing to get at the truth. His simple, direct, and

kindly manner was the same to everyone, and the form and substance of his speech were fit for any company.

In 1881 Mr. Gray acquired by devise from his uncle, John C. Gray (H. C. 1817), the house on Brattle Street, in Cambridge, bought in 1808 by his grandfather, Lieut. Gov. William Gray, the well-known merchant of Salem and Boston. William Gray and the two John C. Grays, though not citizens of Cambridge, lived in this house a portion of every year, continuously, from 1808 or 1809 to 1914, inclusive. The house was built shortly before 1808 by Jonathan Hastings, whose father of the same name was steward of Harvard College.

HANNUM, THE HON. LEANDER MOODY, was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, December 22, 1837. He died at his home, 333 Harvard Street, Cambridge, September 17, 1909.

He received his education in the schools of Northampton, at Wiliston Seminary, and at the English and Classical Institution of Springfield.

At the age of seventeen he went with his father to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. After spending two years there he returned to Massachusetts and entered the wholesale grocery business as a clerk. Two years later he was employed by the Home Sewing Machine Company as cashier and correspondent in New York City.

In 1864 he started on his own account a grocery store in Cambridge on what was then called Main Street. He also engaged in the ice trade and meanwhile developed a large and lucrative real estate business, to which after 1878 he devoted his chief attention. He was prominent in Cambridge as a successful business man and as a faithful, efficient worker in church and city affairs. He was elected to the common council in 1873 and to the board of aldermen in 1874 and 1875. He was a member of the General Court in 1876 and 1877 and of the State Senate in 1881 and 1882. For ten years he was a member of the Cambridge water board and served as special commissioner for Middlesex County. For twenty-five years he was chairman of the standing committee of the Third Congregational (Unitarian) Society.

He was a member of Amicable Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons and was also a member of the Royal Arch Chapter and of Boston Commandery. He belonged to the Colonial Club, the Cambridge Club, the Citizens' Trade Association, and the Real Estate Exchange of Boston.

December 15, 1859, he married Miss Anne Demain of Cambridge, who, with two children, predeceased him.

Mr. Hannum was liberal both in his views and with his means. He was a man of high ideals, a wise counsellor, a patriotic citizen, a good neighbor, and a loyal friend.

IRWIN, MISS AGNES, was born March 15, 1841, in Washington. Her father, William W. Irwin, was then Congressman from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Her mother, Sophia Dallas Irwin, was a descendant of Benjamin Franklin and also of Alexander James Dallas, who was Secretary of the Treasury and then Secretary of War under President Madison.

Miss Irwin's early years were spent in Copenhagen, Denmark, where her father was sent as United States Minister, and later in Washington. Thus she was brought up in the stimulating atmosphere of distinguished people and of public affairs both here and in Europe. In 1862 her family moved to New York and Miss Irwin continued her studies, mostly by herself, in the Astor Library.

In 1869 she became the head of a girls' school in Philadelphia, where she taught until, in 1894, she came to Radcliffe as dean. During her holidays Miss Irwin travelled much in Europe, thus becoming intimate with the scenes of history and with great pictures and works of art. She visited universities and studied foreign languages and met and made friends with interesting people all over the world.

In 1895 the Western University of Pennsylvania conferred on her an honorary degree, the University of Pennsylvania in 1898 gave her the degree of Litt.D., and in 1906 St. Andrews, Scotland, gave her an LL.D.

When, in 1894, Miss Irwin came to Cambridge, Radcliffe was in a formative period. Under her guidance it became a real college, firmly established on lasting foundations. Not herself a college woman, for fifteen years she stood at the head of one of the most important of women's colleges as the ideal of an educated woman. In her the world could see a woman of higher education, distinguished in mind and manner, learned in many subjects, conversant with the ways of men and women, and at home with the arts and letters. To her, education was the mental power, to be gained through constant work and discipline, which can change life from a dreary routine to a way of peace and happiness. Sincerity was the special note in Miss Irwin's character. She never pretended to anything. She had great visions and ambitions for Radcliffe and she

gave to it of her strength freely. Her influence is still felt and is a part of Radcliffe's inheritance.

Miss Irwin retired from office September 1, 1909. Her death took place December 5, 1914, at Philadelphia.

KIERNAN, THOMAS J., was born in Cambridge July 27, 1837, the son of Thomas and Mary Kiernan. He received his education in the public schools and at the age of seventeen, in March, 1855, he was appointed janitor of the Harvard College Library in the place of his father, who had been taken ill and who died shortly after. Thomas Kiernan, the father, had been janitor since 1829, so that the combined terms of service to the University of father and son covered a period of eighty-five years.

In 1877, when Mr. Justin Winsor was made librarian, Mr. Kiernan was appointed superintendent of circulation, which position he held until his death, July 31, 1914. In 1892 Harvard College conferred upon him the honorary degree of master of arts.

June 2, 1875, he was married to Fannie Crossman of Taunton, who died May 9, 1914. The only surviving member of the family is a son, William L. Kiernan, who was an assistant on the staff of the Harvard College Library for several years and later an assistant in the Massachusetts State Library.

Mr. Kiernan's long service of fifty-nine years at the Harvard Library had brought him into intimate contact with the older and younger members of the faculty, as well as students, year after year, and many graduates who returned in later life for Commencement found opportunity to look in upon their old friend.

A few sentences from the following letter show the regard in which many a Harvard man held Mr. Kiernan:

My acquaintance with him goes back to my student time at Harvard, 1859-63, at which period we both were young fellows. That was when Mr. Sibley was Librarian; and I cannot forget how much dependence Mr. Sibley seemed to me to place even then upon "Thomas" and how helpful and sympathetic "Thomas" always was to us youngsters. Coming back to Boston every five or six years, it gratified me to find that despite my long periods of absence abroad, he always knew me, called me by name, and was glad to see me. The Library will never seem quite the same to me in the future with Mr. Kiernan no longer to be found at his well-known desk. Besides, I shall miss his help, which was always rendered when wanted, and rendered with so much cheerfulness, promptness, and definite knowledge. It is fine that he died while still at his post; to have dropped his connection with the Library and "retired" would have been a severe blow to him. He was a fine type of a sort of which there can never be too many,—modest, sincere, effective, friendly, helpful.

LONGSTRETH, MRS. MARY OLIVER HASTINGS, the daughter of Oliver and Huldah (Holmes) (Tribou) Hastings, was born November 4, 1845, in the fine old mansion, 101 Brattle Street, Cambridge, then recently built by her father. Here her early life was spent as her education progressed through the various schools in Cambridge, beginning with the dame school of Miss Jennison on Garden Street, followed by those of Miss Lyman, Mr. Williston, and Professor Agassiz. On October 11, 1871, she married Dr. Morris Longstreth of Philadelphia, of the Harvard class of 1866. Dr. Longstreth became eminent in his profession in Philadelphia and was for many years professor of pathology in the Jefferson Medical College there. Their home was a centre of large hospitality during the forty years of their residence in Philadelphia, and Mrs. Longstreth was active in social life, having been one of the founders of the Acorn Club and president of the Cavendish Whist Club. On their return to the family mansion in Cambridge, in 1911, the same hospitable and gracious spirit prevailed as she welcomed again the friends of her early days. But only three short years were given the Longstreths in which to enjoy their Cambridge life, for in the summer of 1914, while travelling abroad in the hope of restoration to health, both Mrs. Longstreth and her husband died within a very short time of one another at Barcelona, Spain — Mrs. Longstreth on August 28, 1914, and Dr. Longstreth on September 19. They had no children.

Lovely in their lives, in death they were not divided.

MCKENZIE, THE REV. ALEXANDER, was born at New Bedford December 14, 1830. His father was Capt. Daniel McKenzie and his mother Phœbe Mayhew (Smith) McKenzie. He fitted for college at Phillips Andover Academy and entered Harvard in 1855. Having received the degree of A.B. in 1859, he entered the Andover Theological Seminary and graduated in 1861. The degree of A.M. was conferred upon him at Harvard in 1862. In 1879 Amherst College gave him the degree of D.D., and in 1901 Harvard conferred upon him the degree of S.T.D.

He was pastor of the South Church in Augusta, Maine, 1861–1867. In January, 1867, he was called to the First Church in Cambridge (Congregational), which was then located on Mount Auburn Street. He continued as pastor and pastor emeritus of this church for forty-seven years, retiring from active service in 1910. In 1872 the society moved into its new church at the corner of Garden and Mason streets and Dr. McKenzie was presented with the house adjoining, where he continued to live until his death.

He was married January 25, 1865, in Fitchburg to Miss Ellen Holman Eveleth. He was survived by his wife and two children, Prof. Kenneth McKenzie of Yale University and Miss Margaret McKenzie.

Dr. McKenzie was a lecturer at Harvard, 1882-1883, and served as a University preacher, 1886-1889. He was a member of the Board of Overseers, 1872-1884, and was secretary of the board, 1875-1901.

He was lecturer at the Andover Theological Seminary, 1881-1882 and 1894-1897, and was president of the Board of Trustees of Wellesley College, a trustee of Phillips Academy, Andover, and a trustee of Hampton Institute, Virginia.

In 1890 he was president of the Boston Seaman's Friend Society and of the Boston Port Society. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; trustee of Bowdoin College, 1866-1868; member of the Cambridge school committee, 1868-1874; and trustee of the Cambridge Hospital. In 1880 he was president of the Boston Congregational Club. He was a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

He was the author of the following: *Two Boys*, 1870; *Lectures on the History of the First Church in Cambridge*, 1873; *Cambridge Sermons*, 1884; *Some Things Abroad*, 1887; *Christ Himself*, 1891; *The Divine Force in the Life of the World*, 1898; *A Door Opened*, 1898; *Now*, 1899; *Getting One's Bearings*, 1903; *Two Ends of a House Boat*, 1910.

He was a co-worker with the Rev. Thomas Scully, the Rev. Francis G. Peabody, and others in the cause of no-license in Cambridge in the early years when the saloon still prevailed. He was equally interested and helpful in the later years when no-license was an established thing.

Dr. McKenzie was a great preacher. In the pulpit all his superb gifts of mind and heart rose to their highest pitch. He dealt with living themes for the needs of living people.

He died in Cambridge August 6, 1914.

MYERS, THE HON. JAMES JEFFERSON, was born at Frewsburg, New York, November 20, 1842. His father, Robert Myers, was a lumberman, and young Myers, until he was twenty years of age, shared his father's responsibilities and assisted him in carrying on his business.

He entered Harvard College in 1865 and graduated in due course in 1869 with the degree of A.B. He then studied law at the Harvard Law School, receiving the degree of LL.B. in 1872.

He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1873 and began the practice of his profession in partnership with Joseph Bangs Warner under the firm name of Myers and Warner. Mr. Myers was very early employed by Mr. Gordon McKay and continued as his attorney and adviser until the death of Mr. McKay, when he became a trustee of his estate and the principal agent of his great benefactions.

In 1893 Mr. Myers was elected to the House of Representatives and continued for ten years as a member of that body. In 1900 he was chosen Speaker and for three years held that office. The votes of his fellow citizens and his fellow members registered for ten years their recognition of his integrity, sincerity, and prudence in public affairs. After his retirement from political life, in 1903, Mr. Myers devoted his time chiefly to the administration of the McKay estate, which had important interests in various parts of the country.

In 1874 he secured rooms in Wadsworth House in Cambridge and kept them until his death. He never married, but was of a social disposition and a welcome guest in many Cambridge homes. He was always a strong Republican in politics, but was a firm believer in the principle of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. He assisted in many movements for social betterment and political reform.

In 1890 he took a leading part in the organization of the Colonial Club in Cambridge. He was an active member of the Cambridge Club and held the office of president.

His character was like his physical appearance, robust, firm, and serene. He possessed buoyant courage and inward peace.

He died April 13, 1915. He will always be remembered as an able lawyer, a good citizen, and a faithful public servant.

**NORTON, CHARLES ELIOT**, was born at Shady Hill in Cambridge November 16, 1827, his father being Andrews Norton, one of the leading Unitarians of his time, librarian of the College 1813-21, and professor of sacred literature in the Divinity School from 1819 to 1830. He died October 21, 1908, in the house in which he was born.

Mr. Norton was graduated from Harvard College in 1846, having "highly distinguished" himself in Greek and Latin. He entered the East India house of William S. Bullard and was sent in 1849 as supercargo to Calcutta. After seeing something of India and the East he came home by the way of Egypt and Europe. On returning to Cambridge he received a temporary appointment as instructor in French at Harvard, to supply the place of a friend who had fallen ill. After this he engaged in literary work and spent a good deal of time

in Europe in the study of art and literature. His friendship with John Ruskin produced a lasting effect upon both.

After 1860 Shady Hill was Mr. Norton's home. He was on terms of intimacy with Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes. Hawthorne, Whittier, and Emerson were his familiar friends. From 1862 to 1868 Mr. Norton served with Lowell as joint editor of the *North American Review* and in 1865 assisted in starting the *Nation*.

In 1874 he undertook a course of lectures on art in the University and in 1875 was appointed professor of the history of art, which position he held for twenty-three years. He was the exponent of true culture. He loved truth and honesty, which he inculcated in his pupils.

He was intensely loyal and did much to encourage patriotism. He was interested in the affairs of Cambridge and assisted in the cause for no-license and for honest government.

He received highest honors from Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Cambridge, and Oxford. The Harvard Alumni elected him as their president and a member of the Board of Overseers.

Mr. Norton married, in 1862, Miss Susan Sedgwick, daughter of Theodore Sedgwick, a lawyer of New York. Mrs. Norton died in 1872. They had six children, three daughters and three sons, all of whom are still living.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing is merely an outline. For a true picture, reference may be had to the memoir prepared by Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, printed in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for December, 1908, vol. 17, no. 66.

PEARSON, LEGII RICHMOND, was born in Kingston, New Hampshire, March 23, 1832. His father was Rev. Ora Pearson and his mother Mary Kimball Pearson. His father was a Congregational minister, who was graduated at Middlebury College in 1820. He preached at Kingston, New Hampshire, at Compton in Canada, and at Glover, Vermont, and was for several years in the service of the American Tract Society. He died at Peacham, Vermont, July 5, 1858.

Mr. Pearson's mother, Mary Kimball, was a descendant in the seventh generation of Richard Kimball, who came from England in 1634 and settled in that part of Watertown which is now included in Cambridge, his house being near what is now the corner of Huron Avenue and Appleton Street. Mary Kimball Pearson

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rupert Norton died in Baltimore 19 June, 1914.

died at Peacham, Vermont, August 27, 1884. She was a woman of great intelligence and Christian worth.

Mr. Pearson served in the War of the Rebellion as a member of the Fifteenth Vermont Regiment. He married October 22, 1867, Harriet Torrey of Cambridge and settled in Cambridge, where he continued to live for about forty years. His wife died in October, 1903, and a few years later he moved to North Reading, where he died July 6, 1909.

He was a member of the First Church in Cambridge (Congregational) and held the office of librarian of the Shepard Historical Society. The following quotation from a letter written to Mr. Pearson March 15, 1906, by Mr. J. G. Thorp, president of the Cambridge Social Union, shows in a fitting manner Mr. Pearson's connection with that body:

In anticipation of your voluntary retirement from the position of superintendent and librarian of the Social Union, I am directed by the executive board to express to you their personal regret at your departure, and their cordial recognition and appreciation of your long and faithful service.

Starting with the Union at its very beginning, one of its incorporators, and for more than thirty consecutive years connected with it as a member, director, and librarian and superintendent, your long and unbroken association with it is as striking as your devotion to its interests has been untiring. You have thoroughly earned the leisure which you now seek, and our best wishes for many happy years go with you.

Mr. Pearson was one of the charter members of the Cambridge Historical Society and was present at its first meeting, held at the Cambridge Social Union June 17, 1905.

PERRIN, FRANKLIN, was born in Boston, August 9, 1830, and died on February 23, 1914. He was the direct descendant of John Perrin, who came from England on the ship *Safety* in 1635 and settled in Braintree. His father, Augustus Perrin, who died in 1844, was a merchant importer. His mother, Harriet Child, was descended from Benjamin Child, who came from England to Roxbury in 1630.

As a boy and throughout his life Franklin Perrin was fond of reading biography and history, and in languages French and Spanish were his favorites. He attended the Boston schools and was graduated from the high school in 1847. He then became a clerk for Bates and Thaxter and made voyages in their ships as supercargo. Later he regretted not having improved the opportunity of going to college, but as he was the youngest son he was led by the example of his five older brothers to enter upon a business career.

Soon after attaining his majority he became the senior partner in the firm of Perrin and Gilbert in the shipping trade to the East Indies. Later he formed a partnership with David C. Perrin in the importation of palm leaf; he invented a loom for weaving palm leaf with a cotton warp, as well as several other minor contrivances which proved useful. This business continued until the importation of palm leaf from Cuba came to an end.

Mr. Perrin's integrity and business ability were recognized by the city where he lived so long. From 1880 to 1885 he was city auditor of Cambridge. He was treasurer of the Cambridge Horse Railway until it was absorbed by the West End Company. For ten years he was treasurer of the Homes for Aged People and for twenty years a director of the same charity. He was also trustee and auditor of the Cambridge Savings Bank for about twenty-eight years. From 1889 to 1910 he was manager of the Cambridge Safety Vaults.

On his retirement it was written of him :

Mr. Franklin Perrin, after twenty-one years of service, lays off the business harness and seeks a well-earned repose. It is profitable to have the places, where men are brought into close contact with the public, filled by those whose efficiency is supplemented by courtesy, intelligence, and affability. Added to these, and above these, the element of unblemished integrity should take precedence.

The community will long remember Mr. Perrin, and he will carry into his retirement the fine aroma of gracious example in all these traits worthy of remembrance.

In his leisure hours Mr. Perrin compiled a comprehensive chart of English sovereigns for school use. He also wrote a few stories for the *Youth's Companion*; and for the Cambridge Historical Society he wrote a brief paper upon "General Walcott's Company Unattached," in which he served in the Civil War. He prepared a "Handbook of American Trees and Shrubs."

He was a life member of the American Unitarian Association and of the Cambridge Unitarian Club. He was for years deacon in the First Church and took a leading part in all its activities, setting a remarkable example of regularity, promptness, and zeal. For ten years he was superintendent of the Sunday school. He was greatly beloved on account of his kindliness, generosity, and unselfishness.

Mr. Perrin was married in 1855 to Lonisa C., the daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Gage and Abby Richardson Gardner, a descendant of Thomas Gardner, who came to Brookline in the ship *Safety* in 1635. They had one son, Arthur Perrin.

PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD, died July 25, 1911. He was born in Boston August 9, 1853, of parents whose ancestry is traced back to early Colonial times. He attended the Boston public schools, including the Quincy Grammar and the Latin School, at both of which he won a Franklin Medal. Entering Harvard College in 1870, he graduated with distinction in 1874 and was elected to the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He then went to England, where he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and pursued his classical studies for two years. Later he spent another year in Europe, partly in study at the University of Leipzig. In 1878 he returned to Cambridge and continued a post-graduate course, receiving the degree of A.M. in 1881 and of Ph.D. in 1883.

In 1879 he married Anne Palfrey Bridge, who died in 1911. They had four children, all of whom survive them.

Of sufficiently independent means, he devoted his life to public service. He was an active member of the First Parish and First Church and served on various committees with great fidelity and conscientiousness. He was an officer of the Cambridge Associated Charities, president of the Avon Home, trustee and later president of the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital, trustee of the Boston State Hospital, and one of the founders of the District Nursing Association.

He served in the common council in 1887 and 1888 and as alderman in 1890. In 1891 he became a member of the school committee and continued as such for eighteen years, holding the office of president for seventeen successive years. In 1892 he was chosen a trustee of the Public Library, in which office he remained for nearly seventeen years, serving as president the larger portion of the time. He was a director of the Cambridge Trust Company from its beginning. He belonged to the Cambridge Club and was elected its president in 1907.

No one could be brought in contact with Mr. Piper, whether socially, officially, or in business relations, without being impressed with his fairness, justice, candor, and fearlessness. He was modest, retiring even to shyness, free from prejudices, benevolent in giving both of his time and his means, and interested in all attempts to better society and individuals. He deserved well of the community in which he lived. A full memoir of Mr. Piper by John Woodbury appeared in the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, xiv, 351-358.

READ, THE HON. JOHN, was born in Cambridge May 19, 1840, the son of William and Sally (Atkins) Read. He received his preparatory

education in the public schools of Cambridge, and in the high school was a member of one of the first classes taught by Mr. William F. Bradbury. He graduated from Harvard in 1862 and received the degree of A.M. in 1865. He married Miss Elise Welch of Boston, who died in 1914. He died in Cambridge July 29, 1915. Three sons, J. Bertram Read, William Read, 2d, and Harold W. Read, survive him.

Immediately on graduating from college he enlisted in the United States Navy and served through the Civil War. He was on the turreted ironclad ram *Keokuk* when that vessel was sunk by the guns of Fort Sumter in the first attack on Charleston in April, 1863. He afterwards participated in different engagements with the West Gulf squadron in 1863 and 1864 and served on blockade duty off the Louisiana and Texas coasts. He was taken prisoner during an engagement at Calcasieu Pass May 6, 1864, and for eight months was confined in a stockade camp in a Texas swamp. The fact that his father was able to get quinine to him by way of Mexico probably saved his life, for of one hundred and eleven men captured with him only thirty survived.

At the close of the war he entered the business house of his father, dealing in military and sporting goods, and later became a partner with his brothers under the firm name of William Read and Sons.

Mr. Read always took a keen interest in public affairs and, while a staunch Republican, believed in non-partisanship in municipal government. He was a member of the common council in 1880 and 1881, and in 1882 and 1883 was a member of the board of aldermen. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1888 and was State Senator in 1892 and 1893. While a member of the Legislature he assisted in carrying through the bill to allow Cambridge to borrow \$500,000 for the water works, the bill authorizing the park loan, the act allowing Cambridge to take land in Belmont for the high-service reservoir, and the bill for the increase of the state naval militia. He is credited with the defeat of the bill to annex Cambridge to Boston.

He was commissioner of the Massachusetts Nautical Training School, member of the St. Botolph Club, of Charles Beck Post 56 G. A. R., the Loyal Legion, the Kearsarge Naval Veterans, the Association of Survivors of Rebel Prisons, and of the Cambridge Club. He was a trustee of the Sailors Home in Quincy. He attended the First Parish Church in Cambridge.

Mr. Read was deeply interested in everything that concerned the

city and took an active part in all public movements. He will be long remembered as an honorable merchant, a wise counsellor, and a public-spirited citizen who did his full duty in war and in peace.

SAUNDERS, GEORGE SAVIL, was born in Cambridge October 2, 1823, in the house on Garden Street looking upon the Common and adjoining Christ Church. His father, William Saunders, was a master builder by occupation and built a number of the best known Cambridge houses, including the one on Garden Street where he lived. William Saunders was one of the selectmen in the town of Cambridge and became a member of the first common council after Cambridge became a city. A year later he was a member of the board of aldermen.

The son, after a thorough education in the Cambridge public schools and a brief service in a Cornhill bookstore, entered the hardware business. He was first employed by his brother William and then by his brother Charles. In 1847 he became a partner in the firm of Johonnot and Saunders at 21 Dock Square, Boston, and continued prosperously with the same partner at the same place for the next twenty-nine years. In 1877 he moved to the corner of Washington Street and Cornhill and formed a partnership with his son George E. Saunders, continuing the business in the new store for thirty years. The firm then moved across the street to 168 Washington Street, and soon after Mr. Saunders retired from active connection with the business.

In 1847, at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Saunders was married to Lucy C. Willard of Cambridge and began a home life which continued happily for over sixty years. In 1855 he built the house on Concord Avenue which was his home for fifty-four years.

Mr. Saunders gave freely of his time and energy to the community in which he lived. He was a lifelong member of the First Church in Cambridge (Congregational) and served as one of its deacons for forty years. He was elected a member of the common council of the city in 1855, 1856, and 1857 and served as president during the last two years. Again in 1863 and 1864, and still again in 1878 and 1879, he served in the same body and again held the office of president. In 1865 and 1866 he was a representative to the General Court. He was a member of the Cambridge Cemetery Commission for thirty-eight years. He was a charter member of the Cambridge Club and rarely missed one of its meetings. He died at the age of eighty-six on June 6, 1909. He was true to the best ideals of his city and his time.

SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, December 23, 1835. His ancestors had resided in New England for over two hundred years. His parents were Leveritt A. and Martha A. Sawyer. He entered Harvard in 1851, after five years of preparation in the Salem Latin Grammar School. He was a distinguished scholar and one of the first eight elected into the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He adopted teaching as his lifework. Beginning at Phillips Exeter Academy in 1855, he remained as instructor in the classics until 1858, when he became the principal of the Utica Free Academy. When he began his service there, there were some sixty pupils; when he resigned in 1896, there were over four hundred.

He married at Exeter, July 29, 1858, Mary, daughter of Dr. David Wood and Elizabeth (Abbot) Gorham.

He spent the last years of his life in Cambridge, where he devoted his time to books and literary pursuits, surrounded by many old friends.

He died December 15, 1914. Always a gentleman in the broadest and best sense, his uniform courtesy and real enjoyment in rendering service gathered round him an ever-widening circle of warm friends.

STORER, MISS SARAH FRANCES, was born in Boston, March 17, 1842, and died at Cambridge March 12, 1915.

Miss Storer's lineage was typically New England. Her father, Robert Boyd Storer of Portland and Boston, came of the Langdons of New Hampshire and the Boyds, Woodburys, and Storers of Maine, families active and respected as leaders in colonial days and the Revolution. The Boyd immigrant was the younger brother of that Earl of Kilmarnock who lost his head on the Tower block after the battle of Culloden.

Sarah Sherman Storer, her mother, was the daughter of Samuel Hoar of Concord and the sister of Senator George F. Hoar and Judge E. R. Hoar. Five of her paternal forbears or their brothers fought at Concord Bridge; Roger Sherman of Connecticut, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was her maternal grandfather.

Miss Storer's family connections were numerous. They congregated at New Haven and Concord and later at Cambridge, and she knew them intimately. Kinship was to her a claim never to be denied, and always the title of "cousin" called forth her eager hospitality.

In 1858 Miss Storer's parents moved from Boston to Cambridge, where she attended Mr. Agassiz's school. Her visits to her grandparents' house at Concord were frequent, and there she became much at home.

The War of the Rebellion left its mark deeply upon her generation. She saw her brother, most of her cousins, and the young men of her circle leave for the front, and many of them did not return. She bore her part in the activities of those who stayed at home, worked with the Sanitary Commission and the McClellan Club of Cambridge, and after the war was actively interested in the Home for Aged Colored Women in Boston, of whose board she was a member until a few years before her death.

With the New England atmosphere of the mid-nineteenth century we are wont to associate a certain austerity of thought and rigidity of manner. The keen and detached analysis of self and of one's finer emotions, which was the philosophical fashion of the day, made for repression. But it was Miss Storer's singular charm that, although she grew up in two strongholds of the New England traits, she walked with an abundant sweetness radiating from her—the simplest and gentlest of natures. One of her Concord kinswomen said of her: "Fanny is a real princess; she *always* speaks the truth." And so she did—but she hurt no one by the telling.

She loved dogs and flowers and children, kept faith with them, and was at their service with a delighted and unconscious prodigality. Her firm belief in the goodness of the world made conventional religious doctrine seem superfluous and transcended logical and formal creeds. The generous quality of her heart, her absolute fearlessness, and native high-mindedness made mean capitulations impossible to her.

High-spirited, with a kind of gallantry of thought and action, her life was a blessed example of courtesy, courage, and the God-given happiness of those who give of themselves without stint.

WILLARD, JOSEPH, was born in Boston December 6, 1834. He traced his descent in the seventh generation from Major Simon Willard, who came to Cambridge in 1634 and was a principal founder of Concord, Lancaster, and Groton, a man of importance in town and colony till his death in 1676. The ancestors of Joseph Willard in six succeeding generations were Harvard graduates, one being President and another Vice-President of the college.

Joseph Willard, his father, was a lawyer and a student of history, an accomplished antiquarian, whose record of the Willard family has been called a "model memoir." He married in 1830 Susanna Hickling Lewis, a descendant of Richard Warren of the *Mayflower*. Mrs. Willard was a woman of rare gifts and accomplishments, and the family home in Allston Street, at that day a pleasant neighbor-

hood with an agreeable social environment, was the centre of a large hospitality. Under such favoring influences Joseph Willard grew up, was educated at the Latin School, and awarded a Franklin Medal at graduation in 1850. He entered Harvard in the class that graduated in 1855, a class destined to contain many men of note. A short experience of teaching, both during the college vacation and the year after graduation at the school of Rev. Samuel Robert Calthrop of Bridgeport, Connecticut, brought out his native gift of imparting knowledge and his powers of discipline. In 1858 he received the degree of LL.B. from the Harvard Law School. For several years he assisted in the preparation of different law books, one of these being the treatise of Gov. Emory Washburn entitled "The American Law of Real Property," which after the death of Governor Washburn was edited by Mr. Willard. January 29, 1863, he was admitted to the Suffolk bar and was made a member of the firm of Hillard, Willard, and Hyde. After four years the partnership was dissolved, when Mr. Hillard became United States District Attorney. Mr. Willard thereafter practiced alone, having his office in Niles Block in Boston. In 1865 he filled temporarily the office of clerk of the Superior Court, then vacant by reason of his father's death. Later he served on the Boston school board. He was Commissioner of Insolvency in 1873. In 1874 he received the offer of the judgeship of the Municipal Court at South Boston, which offer he declined. He was a member of the Boston Bar Association and of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association. He contributed legal articles to various magazines, notably the *American Law Review*. One of these, "The Right of a Landlord to Regain Possession by Force," was of special interest. He also twice edited the textbook entitled "The American Law of Landlord and Tenant."

In 1900 he delivered a course of lectures at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on business law. He was a charter member of the St. Botolph Club, a member of the Examiner Club, and in 1894 he was admitted to the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He found much intellectual recreation in writing on various literary subjects for the Examiner Club, while his affiliation with the Appalachian Club kept alive his love of outdoor pursuits. But his happiest hours were spent among his books.

His classmate Mr. Frank B. Sanborn says of him:

The curious and exact learning of the two Presidents Willard (the elder of whom was author of an elaborate "Body of Divinity" in folio, and the younger accomplished in science as well as in divinity) reappeared in the late Joseph Willard, who was not only versed in the Latin and Greek,

French and German taught at Harvard in 1855, but extended his acquisitions to the various languages of eastern Europe and western Asia. In law he was a profound student also, but a quiet practitioner, seldom pleading in court, but much trusted for his care and settlement of estates and his knowledge of those points which imply a prodigious reading in English decisions and American law reports. His acquaintance with the literature of many nations was also great, and it was not safe to make a quotation in Willard's presence unless you had read your author pretty carefully. Not that he was captious or pedantic, for nobody was more good-natured, but he had the instinct for precision in facts and words which the modern prevalence of hasty journalism and of sensational fiction under the guise of history has put somewhat out of fashion. He wrote Latin with classic elegance and apparently as readily as English, a lost art in New England, I incline to think. Armenian and the Slavonic languages were a playground for him, and he so far exceeded most of his friends in those studies that they took him for authority without question.

He was an associate member of the Cambridge Historical Society, and his latest service of friendly remembrance was in the preparation for the Society in 1906 of a memorial of John Bartlett, author of "Familiar Quotations." In the early part of 1908 his health, which for two years or more had been failing, gave way, and after a short illness of three weeks he died in Boston on April 27, 1908, at the age of seventy-three years, four months, twenty-one days. Mr. Willard never married.

Of his personal qualities it is not here possible to speak fully, but no notice of him would be adequate that omitted the mention of his brilliant wit, his enduring qualities of faithfulness and friendly service, his public spirit and devotion to the highest ideals. He was an example of conspicuous success, not of the gross material sort, but of success the rarest and most refined, that stands for unworldliness and for the realities of life.

**WYMAN, MORRILL**, was born in Cambridge July 10, 1855, a son of Morrill Wyman (H. U. 1833), M.D., LL.D., who was a professor at Harvard, 1853-1856, and a member of the Board of Overseers, 1875-1887.

Morrill Wyman the younger lived all his life in Cambridge. He spent two years at Harvard with the class of 1880 and later attended the Harvard Medical School for three years.

He was one of the promoters of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association and held the office of secretary. He was also one of the organizers of the National Civil Service Reform League, which began in 1881 with a meeting at Newport, Rhode Island. He was on its executive committee, later called its council, for many

years. He was interested with others in the introduction of the Australian ballot in Massachusetts in the early eighties. In all this work Mr. Wyman was faithful and thorough. He had a certain aptness for drawing up circulars and petitions in a way that was clear to the public. Mr. Wyman's lucidity of statement and really interesting style were well shown in the brief memoirs which he prepared and published of his father and grandfather, Doctors Morrill and Rufus Wyman.

Mr. Wyman never married. He died in Cambridge January 15, 1914. He gave expression to his father's interest, as well as that of himself, in the Cambridge Hospital and the First Parish and First Church in Cambridge by generous legacies to those institutions as well as to Harvard University.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1914-1915

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	RICHARD HENRY DANA
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	.	.	.	.	.	ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS	
						ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE	
						WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	ALBERT HARRISON HALL	
<i>Curator</i>	.	.	.	.	.	ALBERT HARRISON HALL	
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	HENRY HERBERT EDES	

*The Council*

RICHARD HENRY DANA	ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
ALBERT HARRISON HALL	HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY
HENRY HERBERT EDES	FRANK GAYLORD COOK
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI	Alice MARY LONGFELLOW

## COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1914-1915

*On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge*STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, *Chairman*  
EDWARD JOHN BRANDON GEORGE CLEMENT DEANE*On the Collection of Manuscripts, Autographs and Printed Material*HENRY HERBERT EDES, *Chairman*  
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE  
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE FRANK GAYLORD COOK*On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge*MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, *Chairman*  
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE*On Publication*WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, *Chairman*  
HENRY HERBERT EDES SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER*On Memoirs of Deceased Members*HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, *Chairman* WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER*On the Collection of Oral Tradition, Objects of Historical Interest, Portraits and Views*MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, *Chairman*  
MARGARET JONES BRAEBURY GRACE OWEN SCUDER  
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT  
MARY HELEN DEANE SUSANNA WILLARD*To Audit the Accounts of the Treasurer*

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS

*On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize*WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, *Chairman*  
EDWARD BANGS DREW EDWARD FRANCIS GAMWELL

## REGULAR MEMBERS

1914-1915

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY	DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA	*DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS	DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
ALLEN, MARY WARE	DANA, RICHARD HENRY
ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE	DARLING, EUGENE ABRAHAM
AMES, SARAH RUSSELL	DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND
AUBIN, HELEN WARNER	DAVIS, MARY WYMAN
AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS	DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
Bailey, Hollis Russell	DEANE, MARY HELEN
BAILEY, MARY PERSIS	§DEANE, WALTER
BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS	DEVENS, MARY
BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS	DEXTER, MARY DEANE
BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY	DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
BELL, STOUGHTON	DOW, GEORGE LINCOLN
BENSON, EDWARD McELROY	DREW, EDWARD BANGS
BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA	DRINKWATER, ARTHUR
BLACKALL, CLARENCE HOWARD	DRIVER, MARTHA ELIZABETH
BLISH, ARIADNE	DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON
BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL	
BOODY, BERTHA M.	EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN	EDES, HENRY HERBERT
BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE	ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
BROOKS, SUMNER ALBERT	ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN	ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREEMAN	EVARTS, PRESCOTT
CALKINS, RAYMOND	
CARY, EMMA FORBES	FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
§CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES	FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
*COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL	FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
COOK, FRANK GAYLORD	FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
COX, GEORGE HOWLAND	FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY
CROTHERS, SAMUEL McCORD	FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
CUTTER, HENRY ORVILLE	FOWLER, FRANCES

\* Deceased

§ Resigned

GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA  
 GRAY, ANNA LYMAN  
 \*GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN  
 GROZIER, EDWIN ATKINS

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL  
 HALL, ALBERT HARRISON  
 HARRIS, ELIZABETH  
 HART, ALBERT BUSINELL  
 HASTINGS, FRANK WATSON  
 HINCKS, EDWARD YOUNG  
 HODGES, GEORGE  
 HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON  
 HORSFORD, KATHARINE  
 HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING  
 \*HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS  
 HOUGHTON, ROSERYSS GILMAN  
 HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY  
 HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIX-  
     WELL  
 HOWE, CLARA  
 HURLBUT, BYRON SATTERLEE

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY  
 KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK  
 KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON  
 KIERNAN, WILLIAM L.  
 KING, WILLIAM BENJAMIN

LAMBERT, ANNA READ  
 LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE  
 §LEAVITT, ERASMS DARWIN  
 LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY  
 LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP  
 \*McDUFFIE, JOHN  
 MCINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN  
 MELLEDGE, ROBERT JOB  
 MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE  
 MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW  
 MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA

MORISON, ANNA THERESA  
 MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN  
 MORSE, VELMA MARIA  
 MUNROE, EMMA FRANCES  
 \*MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

NICHOLS, HENRY ATHERTON  
 NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN  
 §NORTON, GRACE  
 NORTON, MARGARET  
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAIN, JAMES LEONARD  
 Paine, MARY WOOLSON  
 PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH  
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA  
 PEIRCE, BRADFORD HENDRICK  
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD  
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES  
 PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY  
 POOR, CLARENCE HENRY  
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN  
 Pousland, CAROLINE LORING

RAND, HARRY SEATON  
 \*READ, JOHN  
 READ, WILLIAM  
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD  
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS  
 ROBINSON, JAMES LEE  
 ROPES, JAMES HARDY  
 RUNKLE, JOHN CORNELIUS

SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTINGTON  
 SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN  
 SAVILLE, HUNTINGTON  
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS  
 \*SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON  
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN  
 SCUDDER, WINTHROP SALTON-  
     STALL  
 SHARPES, STEPHEN PASCHALL

\* Deceased

§ Resigned

SPALDING, PHILIP LEFFINGWELL	WEBSTER, EDITH FORBES
SPENCER, HENRY GOODWIN	WELLINGTON, SARAH CORDELIA
SPRAGUE, WILLIAM HATCH	FISHER
STEARNs, GENEVIEVE	§WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT
STONE, WILLIAM EBEN	§WESSELHOEFT, WALTER
*STORER, SARAH FRANCES	WHITE, ALICE MAUD
SWAN, WILLIAM DONNISON	WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE	§WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEWART
THIOP, JOSEPH GILBERT	WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICHARDSON
§TICKNOR, FLORENCE	WILLARD, SUSANNA
§TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN	WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY	WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL	WOOD, JOHN WILLIAM, JR.
WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD	WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
WEBSTER, KENNETH GRANT TRE- MAYNE	WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
	YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

### ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	§FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY
DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE	FARLEY
LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER	LOVERING, ERNEST

### HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

\* Deceased

§ Resigned

## BY-LAWS

### I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

### II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

### III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

### IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

### V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

### VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

#### VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

#### VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

#### IX. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

#### X. SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

### XI. TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

### XII. CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

### XIII. COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

### XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

### XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum.

### XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

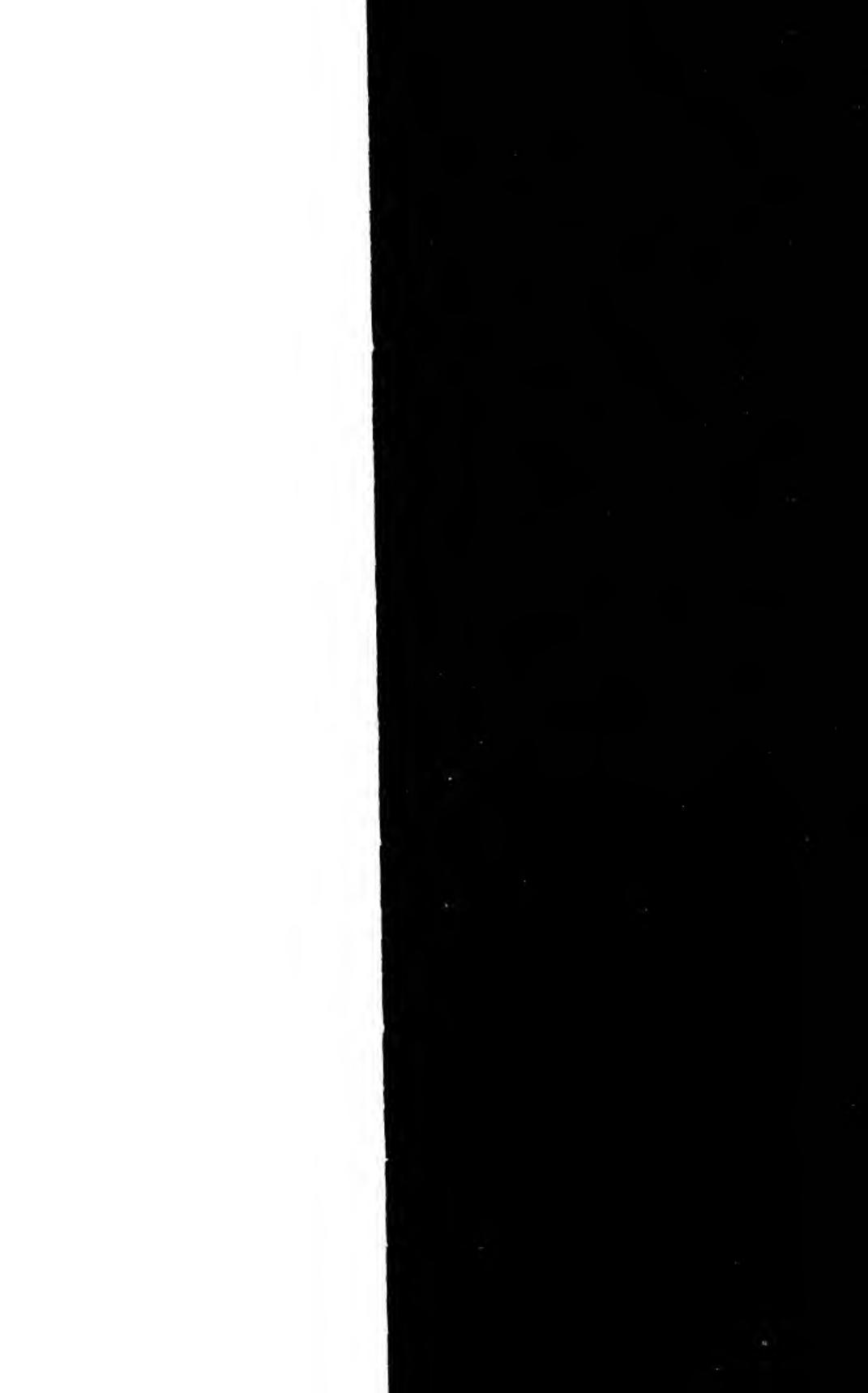
All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

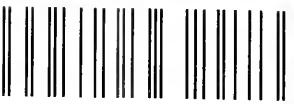
These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.







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